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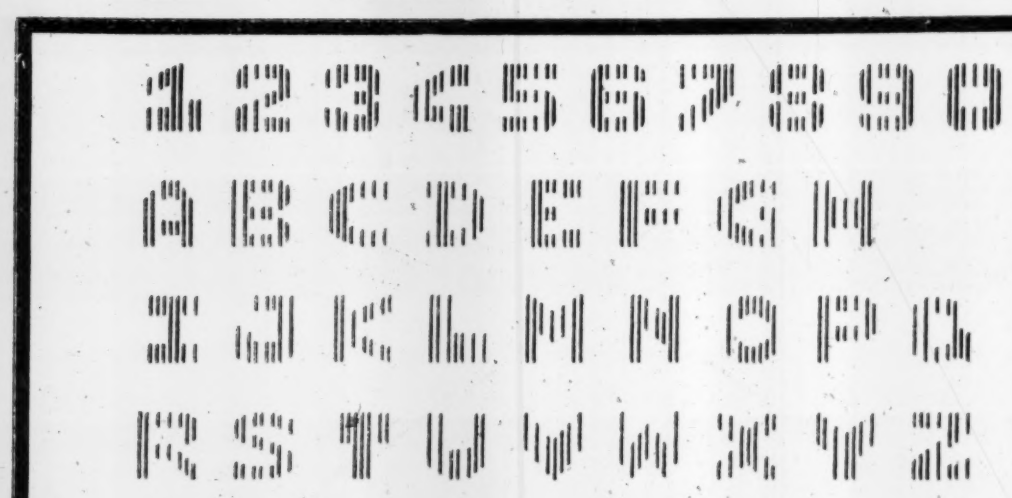
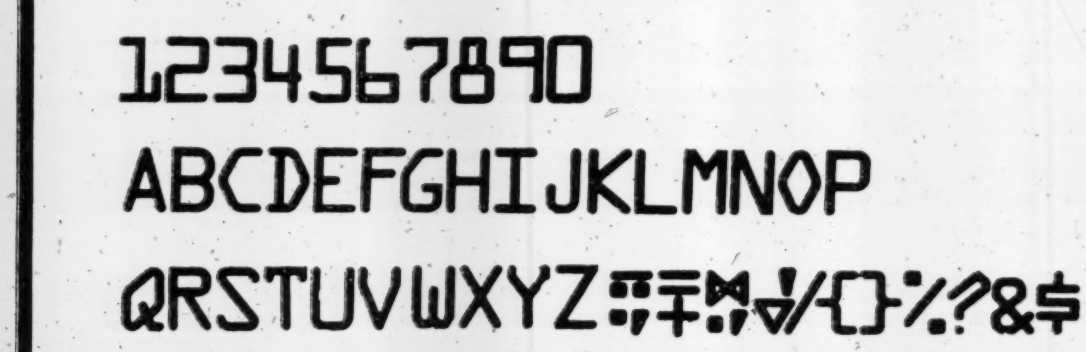
THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

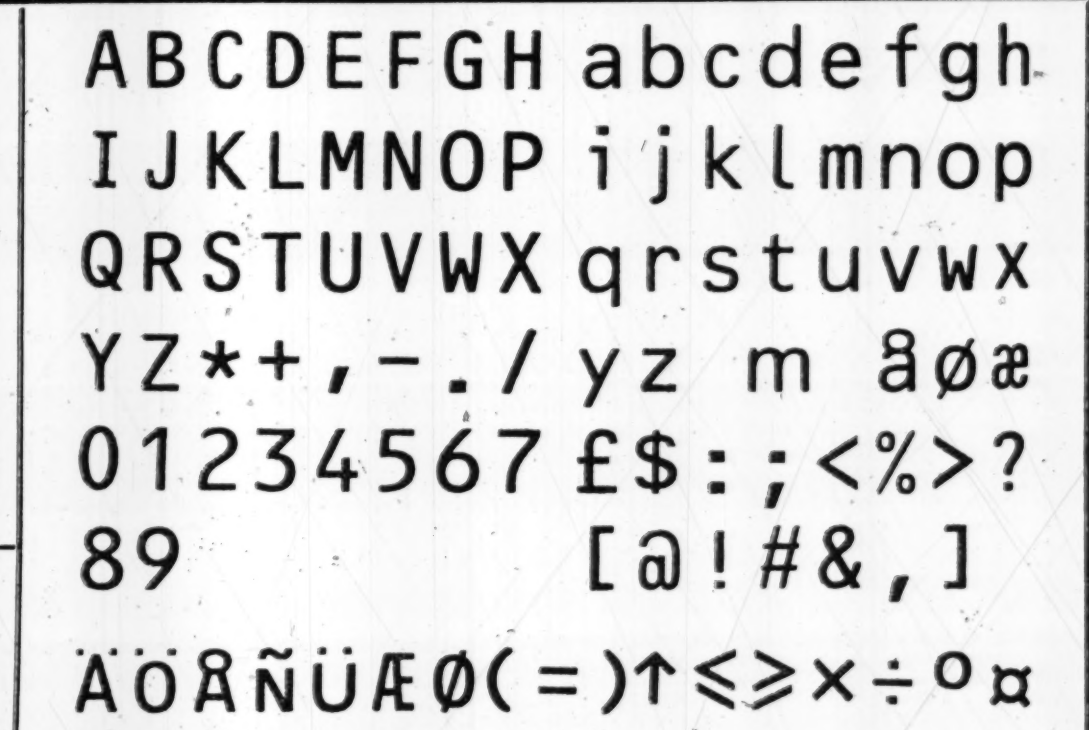
THURSDAY 1 JANUARY 1970 • No. 3,540 • ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE



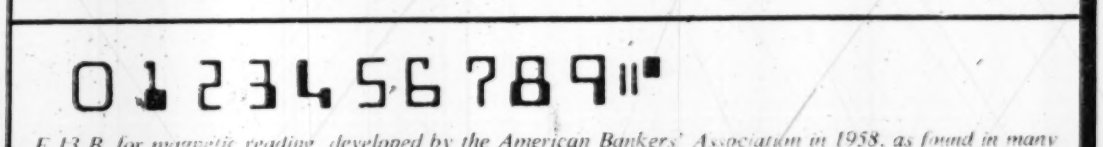
CMC 7, for magnetic reading, sponsored by the European Computer Manufacturers' Association.



OCR-A, for use with optical character reading equipment.



OCR-B, an improved type for optical reading.



E 13 B, for magnetic reading, developed by the American Bankers' Association in 1958, as found in many cheque books.

The evolution of a decent typeface for computer use: the European Computer Manufacturers' OCR-B, designed by Adrian Frutiger, right, and three of its predecessors. Examples taken from Herbert Spencer's The Visible Word *(published by Lund Humphries at £2 10s.).*

The slave of the lamp, 1970

LEARNING HOW TO MAKE THE MOST SENSIBLE USE OF THE COMPUTER

MICHAEL ROSE: *Computers, Managers and Society*. 266pp. Penguin. 7s.
DAVID FISHLOCK: *Man Modified*. 215pp. Cape. 38s.
WILLIAM F. SHARPE: *The Economics of Computers*. 571pp. Columbia University Press. £4 10s.

It is hard to tackle the subject of computers without sounding either like a prophet of doom or like someone with something to sell. The machine has come of age as a standard industrial, commercial and scientific tool, and whether we like it or not it is here to stay. Because of its potentially extensive influence on the quantity and quality of our lives it is only right, indeed it is perhaps necessary, that we should all have an opinion about it.

So writes Michael Rose in his knowledgeable, intelligent and clearly written book *Computers, Managers and Society*: a somewhat restricting title as he covers a very broad range of technical, sociological and philosophical matters. Few people who have had personal experience of computers and computing would disagree with Mr. Rose's belief that we should all form our own opinion on the role of computers in society. Most people, however, are still far from clear about what a computer does and is, and content themselves with a vague feeling of unease.

All most of us need to know is that a computer permits the rapid execution of long and detailed logical operations beyond normal human capacity. From these operations man can arrive at decisions secure in the knowledge that the facts he is considering are up to date and accurate. Additionally, in order to make the computer work, man has to define his requirements and formulate them more clearly than ever before. The computer works extremely fast, and man needs to be able to work fast if his decisions are to keep pace with the information it provides. But neither computer nor man works in isolation, and their activities must be related to what we wish to make of our society and environment as a whole. We have come to see that man, computer and environment are elements in a total system which we can understand and control with the help of "cybernetics".

This term derives from the Greek *kubernetes*, which meant steersman, but came to refer to the man who steers the ship of state, the governor. The term governor in English has, of course, another meaning when it refers to the self-adjusting valve mechanism on a steam engine which is designed to keep the engine at a constant speed, whatever the load. If the engine's speed decreases a valve opens and increases the steam flow until the desired speed is reached again; if the speed rises above the desired level the opposite procedure is carried out. This closed, feed-back, loop principle does not occur only in man-made systems: observe the pupil of a cat's eye coming into a well-lit room after a hunting expedition in the dark. The pupil will rapidly contract to control the amount of light needed to carry images to the brain. Similarly a well-integrated individual reacts to a social atmosphere upon the closed loop principle; he behaves in a certain manner, senses the response of the people around him, and adjusts his behaviour accordingly so as to create the impression desired.

Although the closed loop principle has been in existence as long as man himself, it is only in the past half century that a thorough understanding of it has become essential if we are to control our machines rather than they us. In the past, inventions and commercial developments came about to satisfy an obvious and immediate need, and few of those who devised them or carried them out thought about their ultimate social consequences. Indeed those consequences became apparent so slowly that they could scarcely have been foreseen. Today the closed loop of society responds almost immediately to some inventions. Only a quarter of a century or so has elapsed since the first atomic bomb and the first electronic digital computer, yet the one has completely altered the implications of warfare and the other is utterly changing the pattern of peace—by which is meant the changes brought about in the whole social fabric by the application of cybernetics and computers.

Unfortunately computers have created their own band of disciples who have developed their own private language. There is therefore a growing gap between the manufacturer or the sophisticated user and the general public. It is important to remember that in the very near future computers operating from different nations will be able to communicate clearly one with the other while their human operators are still separated by a language barrier. These computing systems will form an international, interlocking network of information retrieval and processing systems well able to master the information explosion and the demands of any educational set-up.

With this network established, man will have passed from the industrial age into the cybernetic age and will have to rethink his approach to education, employment, leisure and society at large. He will have to rethink his approach to education because the computer will gradually control all structured tasks, whether they be the production of goods or the carrying out of commercial procedures. Computerized teaching systems will make available the world's finest teaching to any child within reach of a communications system. The teacher will become the tutor over-seeing the progress of pupils developing at their own varying pace, whilst he could be using the computerized system at a more sophisticated level to keep up with the developments in his own subjects.

Man will have to rethink his approach to employment because computerized systems will eventually be able to carry out most tasks now performed by semi-skilled and skilled labour together with most of the tasks performed at middle management level. The capacity for production could then be virtually unlimited while the working population could have less and less work to do, as we understand it today. This is a terrifying prospect against which we must take all possible steps. In the immediate future we should concentrate a considerable proportion of the benefits of our output and skills towards the developing countries, at the same time

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ensuring that everyone in our own community has a guaranteed standard of living.

Next we shall have to find meaningful employment for a more highly educated population, outside the pattern that we are now familiar with, and finally we must accept the fact that our social patterns will change totally. Work will no longer be regarded as man's inevitable lot; steam replaced man's muscle in the industrial age, computer systems will remove the need for mental drudgery.

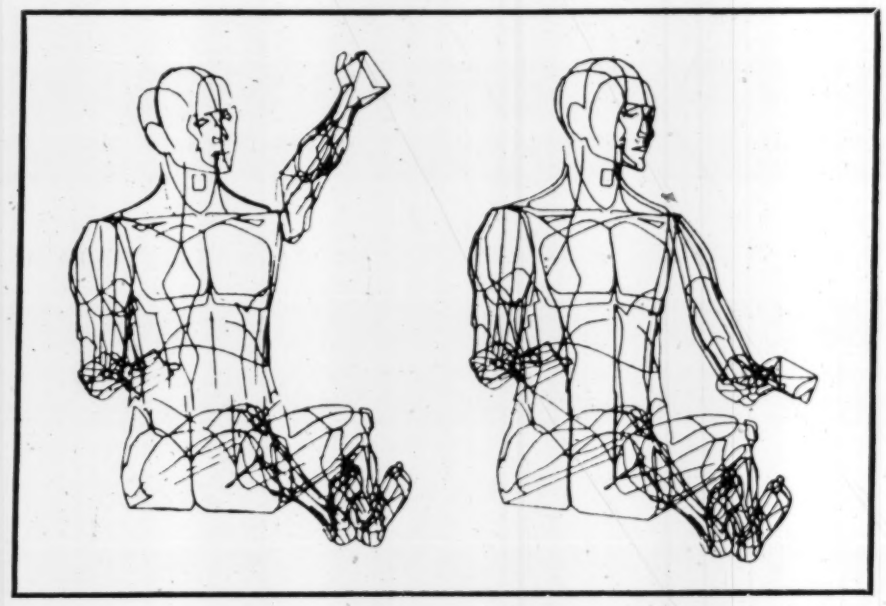
We shall have to reconsider the part played in our lives by leisure, for we shall be surrounded by it; and with education, work and leisure totally re-structured the whole pattern of society will have changed, for the better if we have used forethought, almost certainly for the worse if we have not, or if the thought has been wrong.

The idea of a society so re-structured is foreign to the prevailing philosophy of our era and inevitably sets up strong emotional resistance in anyone over the age of thirty. But this society will surely come about, and if we want to leave one decent legacy to future generations we must do what we can to mould the pattern of evolution along human lines.

To do this we must grasp not only the benefits that computers can bring but also the fears they create. Resistance to change is a basic human response and, to quote Mr. Rose again, "computers, like it or not, are now unambiguously linked to fears of down-grading and dismissal, even on the part of individuals who have heard of relatively straightforward changeovers or who are quite unable to cite a single genuine instance of redundancy". This is very true, and it is interesting that resistance to the introduction of computers comes more from the ranks of the middle-grade administrators or managers than from the shop-floor. Indeed, in December, 1969, a report was issued by the Trades Union Congress which stated that fears that computers would cause large-scale redundancies had proved unfounded. Many unions had reported that the computer, when used to the full, had created work because it was able to provide information not previously available.

This latter point underlines the fears of the middle manager, much of whose job in the past has been concerned with the gathering, processing and transmission of routine data : a job done much faster and more reliably by computer.

The most striking consequences of the switch to computers will occur in the area of management organisation ; that it will radically alter what the average manager does and how he does it ; that as applications become more ambitious and comprehensive it will re-distribute



Computer graphics. A seven-system articulated figure used by the Boeing Corporation of Seattle for projection on a cathode ray tube and animation by computer so as to simulate the possible movements of an aircraft pilot at his controls.

positions in the hierarchy of management power and authority ; that it will transform managerial career ladders both in the individual concern and in industry as a whole. That it will call for an entirely new type of manager—with different aptitudes, experience and qualifications.

So prophesies Mr. Rose for the long term. Obviously much education is going to be needed before most of us can accept such radical changes with equanimity. Unfortunately resistance to change is equally strong among the professional educators, and modern teaching methods advance very slowly. Teachers fear that the increasing emphasis laid by educational theorists on teaching by remote control will lower their living standards by decreasing job opportunities. What they generally fail to realize is that education is a growth area ; it must be if we are to survive as a nation. Also, changing social and employment patterns will mean that the average person will have to go on learning throughout his life, so that job opportunities will steadily increase and a knowledge of modern teaching techniques will be a very considerable asset.

The Committee for Economic Development, an American group of leading businessmen and educators, recently listed the modern teaching aids that American teachers will soon be using ; these were :

(1) Centralized tape libraries from which local school systems could select, for example, an entire course of instruction or specialized lectures prepared by the greatest teachers in specific fields.

(2) Closed circuit television systems for a school district or region, and individual videotape players — the hear-and-see devices to enable each classroom to utilize the course materials that can be made available to every school.

(3) Electronic teaching machines, that have been particularly successful in language tuition.

(4) Programmed learning systems for detailed, repetitive instruction.

(5) Scanning devices in each classroom that would be linked to the library and records office to free teachers from many routine functions.

(6) Computer centres for grading examinations for a school, or an entire school district.

(7) Computers for cataloguing and retrieving information.

(8) A flexible open-circuit educational television network to bring a variety of current events type instruction to classrooms.

All these devices are, of course, expensive, but the sooner they can be introduced into our secondary educational system the better.

Schools, or groups of schools, can make good use of computers for administrative purposes, for it is often forgotten that they have organizational problems as complex and time-consuming as many medium-sized companies. What is worse, the time consumed is often that of trained teachers who are badly needed in the classroom. A computer can help with the organization of lessons and examinations, with the admission of pupils and their registration, with costings, classroom allocation and time-table preparation.

Finally, a computer, linked to some of the teaching aids listed above, can maintain an up-to-the-minute record of individual pupils' progress and rapidly draw the attention of the teacher responsible to any falling away from predetermined standards. In this way the pupil can benefit from individual attention, however large the class or school. However, the immediate need for the installation and utilization of computers lies not in our schools but rather in our technical colleges and universities. It is from these sources that the country must satisfy its short-term need. But it must be borne in mind that if we are to use individual methods of mechanized instruction, then a computer is the only answer to such problems as scheduling the lessons for and monitoring the results of the work of some 2,000 individual pupils at a time. It was only a few hundred years ago that the first substantial sums were spent on education. At that time Latin and Greek were the key to the new learning. Today the computer is the key. If we are to have a future in the fields of science and technology we must first set up the appropriate educational system.

Once we overcome the educationists' resistance to change and thereby create a readiness to accept the benefits of technology, mankind will undoubtedly be more ready to welcome the machine into medicine. David Fishlock in *Man Modified* explores the relationship between man and machine symbolized for most of us in the artificial kidney machine or the hip joint that owes its origin to the engineering industry rather than to Adam and Eve. His opening statement, "Man need no longer die. Machines will sustain his heartbeat and breathing—whose failure has always been indicative of death—perhaps indefinitely", probably conjures up more fear than hope. For if mankind bitterly resents the intrusion of machines into his social environment he still more bitterly resents their intrusion into his physical body.

Once again it is an instinctive rather than an intellectual reaction and once again, broadly speaking, it is an incorrect reaction. How incorrect, Mr. Fishlock demonstrates quite clearly in a book that obviously and encouragingly reflects his passionate interest in the subject. His passion is disciplined, fortunately for the layman, by his long experience in writing clearly about science for the non-scientist. He also points out that man's resistance to spare-part surgery is sharply modified by impending death: "If it is literally a matter of life and death, man if *compos mentis* will almost always grasp at the most slender straw."

Pollution, over-population, racial difference, the gaps between generations, the desperate needs of the developing nations are all placing enormous strains upon our old established institutions and methods of solving problems.

What we must do if we are *compos mentis* is to grasp at the slender straw offered to mankind through the intelligent use of computer systems. We need to accept the causes of our fears and resistance to change and, through understanding, to discount them. A book such as *The Economics of Computers*, by William F. Sharpe, in a way typifies the kind of approach that we need. It is a long way removed from the emotionally charged atmosphere which usually accompanies the consideration of whether or not a computer should be installed. In sober, logical fashion it presents concepts from micro-economic theory that are directly relevant to those responsible for deciding whether or not a computer will pay its way. It makes extensive use of theory and formulae, deals with specific problems and illustrates the application of the theories discussed by giving practical examples. By following Professor Sharpe's advice, one feels, computer systems could always be made to pay their way and the attitude to them would be calm and logical. Unfortunately, human feeling would still crash in, no doubt, and raise the temperature ; but Professor Sharpe's approach is certainly most desirable and adult. Sadly, as things stand, it will probably be some years yet before it can be taken as typical.

Society is a self-adjusting mechanism ; in a way it is itself a closed-loop, cybernetic system. Ultimate decisions can only be made by informed human beings acting upon the best information available as rapidly as possible. The computer can in no way lift the responsibility from human shoulders ; society, unless it wishes to commit suicide, can never "leave it to the machine". But the proper use of computer systems can ensure that we are all rapidly fed with the relevant information upon which to make our decisions. They can relieve us of mental hack-work and leave us clear to think creatively. They can ensure adequate provision of goods, food and services in the most economical way possible. They can open up new possibilities for society in the fields of medicine, education and the profitable use of leisure. With such a tool to hand, mankind must learn how to use it. To fail to do so would be an act of foolishness unequalled in our history.

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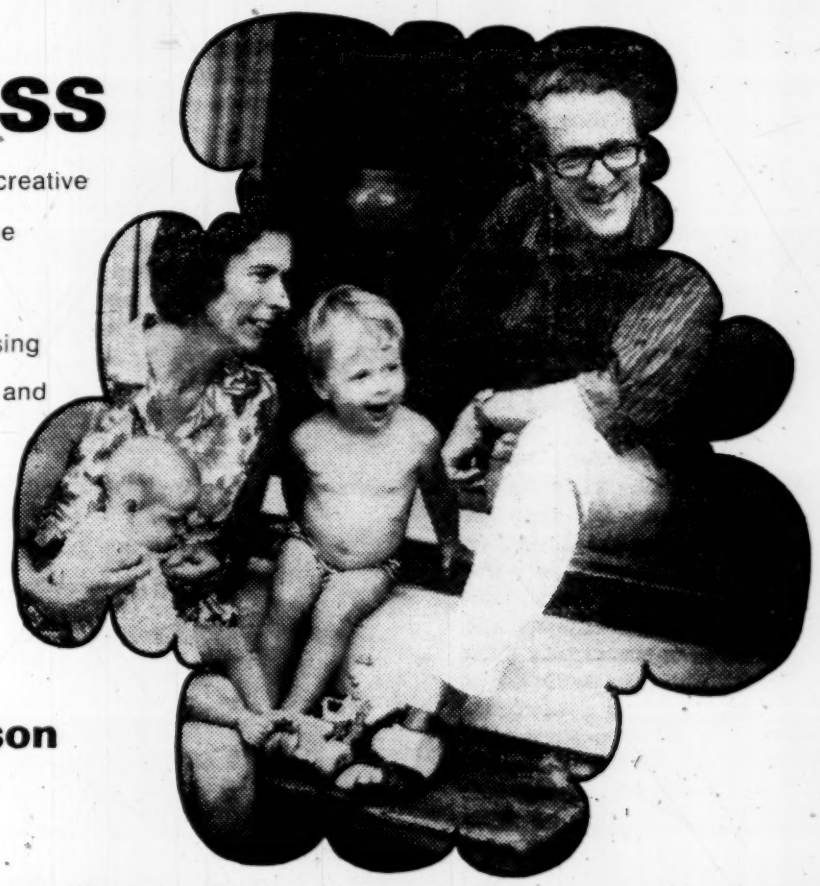

The men at the top...

W. L. GUTTSMAN (Editor): *The English Ruling Class*. 310pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £2 10s.

The title of Mr. Guttsman's book is slightly ambiguous. He is not trying to say who rules us now; indeed, he suggests that he has not yet made up his mind about this rather difficult question. He is primarily concerned with the groups who ruled Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the bulk of his fascinating work consists of extracts from a very wide variety of sources (some of them recondite) designed to "throw light on the 'Men at the Top' who used to govern us and who in some measure still do today". As a collection of documents, *The English Ruling Class* is brilliant; and it will certainly become an essential source-book for students of the social and economic history of the past 150 years. Nevertheless, it leaves one with a vague sense of dissatisfaction, the sources of which ought to be identified.

One is Mr. Guttsman's tendency to equate the ruling class with the aristocracy. He knows, of course, that the possession of broad acres was not essential qualification for entrance into the ranks of the ruling elite even in the early nineteenth century, and he documents the process whereby money-power, particularly if used to acquire a public to strengthen, [illegible]xbridge education, could buy a man, or rather his son, a way in. He also recognizes that to some extent from 1832 and quite definitely from the last quarter of the century the bourgeoisie made the political running, even if they often "used" aristocrats as the actual runners. What he does not adequately illustrate, however, is the process whereby the acquirers or inheritors of industrial wealth entered political life on their own terms, making at most no more than a formal gesture of respect towards their superiors in rank or status. Where are the "hard-faced men who looked as though they had done well out of the War"? Where are the Chamberlains, Joseph, Austen and Neville?, Where are Bonar Law and Baldwin? In default of an index, it cannot be definitely said that they are nowhere mentioned; but they are certainly not emphasized. As a result of this gap, there is an excessive stress on the persistingly aristocratic character of British political culture. It would be of interest to hear less of "landownership" (on which there is a long and interesting section) and more of "ironmastership".

The second reason for dissatisfaction is Mr. Guttsman's evasion, in his introduction, of the question of what a ruling class *is*. An author who chooses to use this concept should at least do his best to define it. As Mr. Guttsman recognizes, two alternative theoretical approaches are available: Pareto's and Marx's. Pareto's elitism is rather summarily dismissed as "singularly unsuggestive for detailed historical analysis"; the Marxist model is treated more sympathetically, but without much indication of how far the author is prepared to accept it. To his credit, he openly states that he has "deliberately neglected in the construction" of his "analytical framework" these "two major streams of sociological theory which more than any other have been connected with the discussion of the ruling class". But what has he to put in their place? Something that looks rather confused.

In selecting his documents, he says, he was concerned with "economic and professional groups, such as landowners, politicians, the army, the Church and the bureaucracy" which "constituted the preferred occupations of the British upper classes" and gave them the opportunity to dominate the "process of government considered in the wider sense". But can landownership be bracketed with the others as "preferred occupation"? Was it not a form of economic *ownership* which, so long as it remained the dominant or most respected form, itself enabled its beneficiaries to "prefer" certain occupations, carrying power and influence, for themselves, their children, their clients, and those with the ability to climb on their bandwagon?

There seems to be a confusion here, which is not really cleared up when Mr. Guttsman states, as his "underlying hypothesis", that

> membership of such groups, or the right of access to them, though customary rather than legal, does in some real measure identify the ruling class as a social class and separate it from the other classes in society.

This says little more than that the ruling class consists of people who rule. To provide a *sociological* definition of that class one must surely look at *what* people normally find it possible to assume these rulership roles, or to exercise decisive influence over their incumbents. Although his documents have much to say on this issue, Mr. Guttsman fails to confront it with the intellectual clarity one might have expected of him.

To stress these defects and ambiguities in a book as ably compiled as this may seem a little churlish. One does so mainly in the hope that Mr. Guttsman will be prepared to do some more thinking when it goes into its second edition, as it thoroughly deserves to do. Perhaps he will then find it possible not only to tell more of the story but to make it clearer by developing a greater consistency of approach.

...and the under-cover men

RICHARD DEACON: *A History of the British Secret Service*. 440pp. Frederick Muller. £3 10s.

A trustful willingness to believe what one is told is a characteristic engaging in its possessor and a sign of good nature. Chesterton, praising Pickwick's infinite capacity for being taken in, went on to argue in his paradoxical and paronomastic way that this really made for his happiness in that he was taken in on adventures which the more sceptical would have missed and taken into the hearts of his readers. In this Pickwickian sense Mr. Deacon is well endowed. Undesirable, though deplorably common, in an intelligence agent, this sort of credulity is just the thing when it is desired to write a book on secret service (or, no doubt, a *Madoc and the Discovery of America*, another of Mr. Deacon's subjects) if it is to give the reader full measure. More than 400 pages on the history of espionage is evidence that he possesses a fine library of source books; too many of the pages suggest that he has used them in a generously uncritical spirit.

The first quarter of the book contains a reasonably sober selection of stories of information gathering from Tudor to Victorian times. It is with the twentieth century that the fun begins, and the name of "Sidney Reilly" introduces a series of diverting but unbelievable stories. Mr. Deacon might protest that, compared with Mr. Robin Bruce-Lockhart, to whose book *Ace of Spies* he acknowledges his indebtedness, he has allowed a tinge of scepticism to creep in on occasions: he even softens to some extent his mentor's stirring but risible tale about Reilly attending a meeting of the German High Command and learning, from the Kaiser's own lips, of the opening of unrestricted submarine warfare. Most of the other stories are there, though, including Reilly's debut on the Amazon as Pedro the cook; it was a pity to water down Bruce-Lockhart's story of how his skill with the revolver saved the three British officers on an intelligence mission in that improbable area by inserting a cautionary "almost" before the original's "single-handed", or was Reilly a two-gun man? Connoisseurs of First World War spy stories will await eagerly the appearance of Basil Zaharoff and they will not be disappointed: here are the stories about the submarine deals with Greece and Turkey, the Vickers royalty to Krupp for the artillery fuses, and, of course, the Briey basin. How it all brings back the 1920s! It is going a little far, though, to quote "the Paris paper *Crapouillot*" as a source.

The Second World War has produced an enormous crop of books, all of which Mr. Deacon has studied and, too often, believed. He does not always get details right: it was very careless, for instance, to write about Mincemeat (the papers on the body of the bogus Marine) as the cover plan for Torch instead of for Husky. A number of his stories, however, lack all touch with reality. It is not true that in Crete in 1941 "the Germans achieved great success with a special assault unit that penetrated British GHQ [*sic*] to make a swift appraisal of our ciphers and technical equipment". Mr. Deacon next puts forward the opinion that if the Allies had captured Sardinia instead of Sicily "the war could have been won at least a year earlier"; it would be interesting to see what arguments he could adduce in support. When he writes that in Sicily the bandit Giuliano "held two German divisions in check with a force of only one hundred men" the reader used to this sort of stuff is likely to divide by two thousand and assume that Giuliano's men had a brush with two German platoons: a more fundamental disbelief is to be recommended. Mr. Deacon has naturally studied Mr. Norman Lewis's book on *The Honoured Society*: it is to his credit that he feels qualms about a narrative of military operations which agrees neither with the experiences of those who took part in the invasion nor with subsequent histories.

Mr. Deacon could hardly be expected to pass over the death of General Sikorski. He is, happily, not convinced by Herr Hochhuth's story of a document in a Swiss bank, but he apparently believes that Mason MacFarlane suggested to Sikorski that he should fly to Cairo instead of London—in the aircraft that was taking Maisky. Incidentally, he is wrong in thinking that "within a few days" Goebbels's Propaganda Department was putting out the news that Sikorski had been murdered by the British Secret Service: according to Mr. David Irving it was within two hours. Mr. Deacon adds a detail which appears to be his own. The famous Christine Granville who worked for S.O.E. in France used to claim, or so he says, that "she had evidence to show that Sikorski's death was due to sabotage". This claim, he goes on, "spelt her death knell as far as the British Secret Service was concerned". This sounds exciting, since he has just recorded the story of her murder; but it was nine years later and the murderer was a disappointed lover.

The postwar world is a drabber place for Mr. Deacon. True, there are Philby, Maclean, Blake & Co., but in their cases most of the facts have come out and the growth of legend has been less luxurious. The book ends with a plea for the creation of a "Director of Literary Intelligence" to keep an eye on the writings of such men as Pasternak and Daniel. There has, indeed, always been a close affinity between espionage and fiction.

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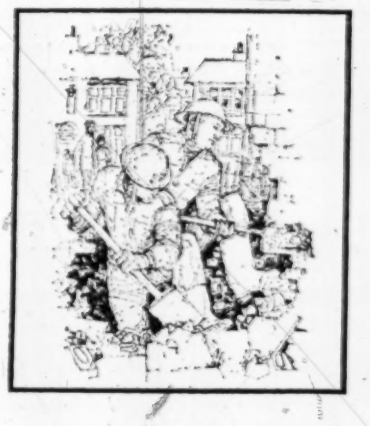

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The synthetic overview

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ, JOSUE DE CASTRO, and JOHN GERASSI (Editors) : *Latin American Radicalism*. 653pp. Cape. £3 15s.
LAURENCE GALE : *Education and Development in Latin America*. 178pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 28s.

It is notoriously difficult to maintain a consistent standard when editing a book of readings, but it is perhaps more unusual that the contributions of the editors should be so much below the standard of some of their contributors. Josué de Castro could scarcely have written his contribution to this book if he had read the (often reprinted) cautionary essay by Rodolfo Stavenhagen " Seven Erroneous Theses about Latin America ", which is also included. John Gerassi allows himself to appear in print, in a book whose publication date is September 25, 1969, informing us that " Che has already been proven right in Cuba and is doing well in Bolivia ". Irving Louis Horowitz offers us his " own synthetic overview of the social structure institutions and ideologies of Latin America ", in which he tries to avoid " banal blurbs " on the efforts of other authors and instead attempts " a genuine utilization of their intellectual inputs in my own output ". A typical product of his efforts is the following: In Latin America " the Nasserist option does not really obtain. Nasserism depends for its strength on an an ill-formed misshapen 'classlessness' which exists primarily in the Middle East ".

Unfortunately, Mr. Horowitz does not feel the need to fit the trivial experience of particular countries, such as post-coup Peru, into his grand " synthetic overview ". The analysis is more concerned with general propositions such as " there is no élite in Latin America which legitimizes itself simply by legal succession of its power ". The existence of a powerful and cohesive élite in Mexico, which has been doing precisely this for the past thirty-five years, is no doubt a minor objection. A number of other contributors display a similar disregard for the most elementary facts of Latin American politics. For example, John Johnson writes that

> Latin Americans have a long way to go to translate their notions of dignity and the good life into the reality for which they yearn. A vast majority of us can find some satisfaction in the fact that, except in Cuba, they are seeking solutions to their frustrating problems through relatively democratic institutions, . . . One of the most remarkable recent developments favouring democracy in the area has been a shift away from violence and personal authoritarianism.

The repressive military dictatorships of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, and so on, are simply wished away.

One could extend the examples of unjustifiable assertions and gross errors of fact to a large number of further contributions in this book. Suffice it to say that four of the five contributions by the editors are dispensable (John Gerassi's long introductory essay is not so bad); the last seven essays put across the familiar Castroite slogans without any interesting innovations, or much useful information; there are two exceptionally poor essays by Latin American Christian Democrats (Eduardo Frei and Emilio Maspero), and the essay on Venezuelan oil contains the most elementary errors of economic analysis.

About a dozen of the essays are well worthwhile. Clearly the best is the chapter on the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic by two American student radicals (if only *they* had been allowed to edit the book !). There is also a highly professional piece of research by Gino Germani on the effects of immigration on Argentine society, although his insistence on the existence of a traditional / modern dichotomy fails to convince. Celso Furtado's essay on U.S. hegemony in the continent is stimulating and sensible. Other contributions—on the concept of " internal colonialism ", on the Central American Defence Council, on the co-optation system in Mexican politics, on recent Brazilian politics—are likewise stimulating. However, there is no unity to the book. Some of the Latin American contributions appear to have been very badly translated from the Spanish, and the charitable explanation of Mr. Horowitz's English style would be that it had been badly translated from the German.

Laurence Gale's book is much more modest, and on its own terms more successful. It is an elementary introduction to Latin America for students taking comparative education courses. He has collected together basic information about Latin American educational systems, and added some examples drawn from his experience as a teacher in Colombia. The result is useful, although perhaps slightly superficial and naive. For a better analytical grasp of the situation, Mr. Gale could, for example, have consulted the work of Andrew Pearse, read at the Sixth World Congress of Sociology in 1966.

Martí studies

IVAN A. SCHULMAN and MANUEL PEDRO GONZALEZ : *Martí, Darío y el Modernismo*. 259pp. Madrid : Gredos.
Anuario Martiano I. 375pp. Havana : Consejo Nacional de Cultura.

Ivan Schulman and Manuel Pedro González have, in *Martí, Darío y el Modernismo*, attempted a major reappraisal of Martí and his role in the Modernist movement. The argument is ably summarized by Cintio Vitier in the introduction to the book, in which he adds his own interesting comparisons between the work of Martí and that of César Vallejo. In " Reflexiones en torno a la definición del modernismo ", Dr. Schulman points out that most critics have blindly accepted Darío's claim in the preface to *Cantos de vida y esperanza* to have been the initiator of the movement to regenerate Hispanic letters, and for this reason the beginnings of Modernism have generally been fixed at 1888, the year in which he published *Azul*, and the end at 1916, the year of his death.

Dr. Schulman argues convincingly that Martí's role as an innovator is as important as and antecedent to that of Darío. Both his and Manuel Pedro González's essays constitute a well-argued plea for Martí as a central figure in Modernism rather than simply one of the " precursores ". But if Martí is to be regarded in this way, then another question arises—that of finding a definition general enough to include widely different styles which range from " el afrancesamiento hasta el tradicionalismo hispánico ". The common denominator, according to Dr. Schulman, is to be found in the general search for new forms of expression, in the shared *angst* of the age, in the common rejection of contemporary society. He pleads for the recognition of the many contradictory forces at work within Modernism, one example being the paradoxical influences of both positivist investigation and the new *fin-de-siècle* spiritualism.

In short, he claims that Modernism is a syncretic movement whose influence extends down to the present. Perhaps one might argue that in widening the definition of Modernism to this extent, the term ceases to have much meaning. Dr. Schulman's work, however, establishes Martí's stature as a prose writer beyond doubt. Only occasionally does he strain his case. For instance, in an article on " Darío y Martí " he mentions the influence of Martí's style on Darío's " Castelar " but does not seem to have entertained the notion of a common style of rhetoric which might have influenced both writers.

Manuel Pedro González's articles concentrate on the evaluation of Martí's prose style. Two of them, " Conciencia y voluntad de estilo en Martí " and " Martí, creador de la gran prosa modernista ", are important studies of the nature, development and variety of Martí's prose writing. Yet he also concentrates too exclusively on literary influences. To find any investigation of the nineteenth-century tradition and styles of oratory, we must turn to Cintio Vitier's articles in the *Anuario Martiano*, the first publication of the newly created Sala Martí in Cuba's National Library. Cintio Vitier's " Los discursos de Martí " suggests the contemporary rhetorical structures although he does not extend his study to prose writing other than political speeches.

Curiously, despite the reverence in which Martí is held as the " apostle " of Cuban liberation, serious study of his work is of fairly recent date. Both *Martí, Darío y el Modernismo* and the *Anuario Martiano* are understandably imbued with missionary fervour. Both of them indicate the extent of areas as yet unexplored.

The absent friend

RICHARD BOURNE : *Political Leaders of Latin America*. 306pp. Penguin. 7s.
LUIS MERCIER VEGA : *Guerrillas in Latin America*. Translated by Daniel Weissbort. 246pp. Pall Mall Press. £2 5s.

Obviously the six biographies selected by Richard Bourne were not chosen because of their subjects' outstanding political achievements. Indeed, Eva Peron scarcely qualifies as a political leader at all ; Carlos Lacerda has been outstanding only for his capacity to destroy ; and Alfredo Stroessner is virtually unknown outside the narrow confines of Paraguay. Kubitschek and Frei are more orthodox examples of the Latin American politician—erratic reformers, with enough sense of the practical to reach power through the political system, and enough sense of the visionary to raise hopes that the system cannot satisfy.

The obvious exception is Che Guevara, an inevitable inclusion in any collection of this sort. He is the one leader of heroic stature in this volume—a man who insisted that the impossible could be attained by rejecting the narrow calculations of the realists, by never compromising, and never flinching from the path to maximum sacrifice. Richard Bourne somewhat deflates this heroic image, as any coldly factual narrative is bound to do, but he recognizes that Che's own maximum sacrifice has created a legend of continuing political importance, and not only in Latin America.

The twenty Latin American republics have quite distinct histories and political systems, and relatively few personalities who transcend the limits of a specific political moment. They are products rather than moulders of history. (In this respect they accurately mirror the international status of the countries from which they come.) Therefore their biographies present a sample of the situations which Latin American politicians may confront, not an account of how history was changed. The sample which Richard Bourne has chosen is a good one, and his book provides a useful and readable introduction to Latin American (or more strictly South American) politics for the newcomer.

Readers already informed about South American affairs may be more critical of the journalistic pace (the author is education correspondent of *The Guardian*) and may be irritated by a number of minor errors of fact, and occasional major errors of judgment. Most notably the chapter on Eva Peron is based on the untenable assumption that " the strongest base for the Peronistas lay among the unstructured *petite bourgeoisie* and the unorganized workers ". The breathless introductory chapter confirms that Mr. Bourne's talent is in the field of biography rather than theoretical analysis. But even the most fastidious specialist should find these faults outweighed by the book's real merits—the biographies contain a lot of revealing material not otherwise readily available, and they introduce many of the major issues of South American politics.

Both the books under review suffer from a significant omission, however—they contain almost nothing to indicate that the United States has any role in Latin American politics. To read Luis Mercier Vega's book one might imagine that the only imperialisms operating in Latin America were Russian, Chinese, and Cuban. The author is editor of the American-financed, Paris-based journal of Latin American studies *Aportes*, and he judges the continent's guerrilla movements harshly. In his view they show no interest in the realities of Latin America, they simply reflect the national interests of their sponsors or the personal ambitions of their middle-class participants. Marxists never study Latin American realities, according to Sr. Mercier Vega. He himself makes a number of shrewd points but spoils them with much cheap propaganda. The argument is hard to follow in places and the examples do not always illustrate the points they are supposed to. On the other hand, the examples are themselves very interesting—he quotes a large amount of material from the literature on Latin American guerrillas which has not hitherto been readily available in English. But Sr. Mercier Vega originally wrote this book in mid-1967 and it has been very imperfectly brought up to date for the English edition.

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Wide round-up

JEAN FRANCO : *An Introduction to Spanish-American Literature*. 390pp. Cambridge University Press. £2 15s.

An Introduction to Spanish-American Literature admirably fulfils the programme of its title ; as an initiation for the beginner and as a work of reference, it is unequalled. Beginning at the beginning, with the sixteenth-century literature of discovery and conquest, it takes us up to the present day ; though, unlike Professor Franco's previous, more ambitious book, *The Modern Culture of Latin America*, it of course leaves out Brazil.

Works of the imagination were officially prohibited in the Spanish colonial empire so that, apart from the chronicles of the first settlers and the isolated example of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, the Mexican mystic and Baroque poet, little of merit was written in Spanish America before independence. The nineteenth century itself presents a somewhat dreary display of belated European importations ; its romanticism, realism, naturalism, symbolism and so on produced books that can be studied fruitfully as social documents but which do not often stand favourable comparison with their European models. There are instances, however, of real achievement, particularly in the novel. Jose Mármol's *Amalia*, for instance, in spite of its deployment of wide-eyed romantic clichés, is a fine and passionate manifestation of the nineteenth-century liberal mind outraged by a primitive dictatorship in Argentina ; Alberto Blest-Gana's *Martín Rivas* and Cirilo Villaverde's *Cecilia Valdés* are two skilful novels of manners, the latter containing an impressive indictment of Cuban slavery.

The emergence of Neruda and Vallejo in the 1920s and of Borges as a writer of fiction in the 1940s was the true beginning of an original rather than an imitative literature in Spanish America. Professor Franco devotes a section to each of these three writers and her remarks on Vallejo are particularly good. Subsequent chapters deal with contemporary poetry, and with the novel of the 1950s and 1960s. In dealing with recent Latin-American fiction Professor Franco avoids the dangerous euphoria that characterizes the comments of so many critics while still recognizing the considerable merit of the novels in question.

It is a pity that so useful a book should be marred by an occasional carelessness. Thus, whereas we are told on page 285 that in " España en el corazón " (1947) there appeared " the first examples of Neruda's public writing ", Professor Franco writes three pages later that *Canto General* (1950) " represented Neruda's first real attempt to escape from an elitist conceot of poetry ". She tells us, too, that Neruda " came across the poems of T. S. Eliot and Rabindranath Tagore " during his travels in the East after 1927 ; but Tagore had been so strong an influence on his *Veinte poemas de amor y una canción desesperada* (1924) that, as is well-known, Neruda was accused of plagiarizing him. Less excusable is the carelessness of Professor Franco's publishers. Untypically, there is a very large number of misprints indeed in the Spanish quotations.

Professor Franco's book is so full in its coverage that a reviewer can have few complaints about omissions. Space, however, might have been allowed for Macedonio Fernández, without whose novels, essays and conversation the literature of fantasy of the River Plate might not have existed, and for Latin America's most underrated though highly influential novelist, Adolfo Bioy Casares.

In streets mean and narrow

ARTHUR MORRISON: *A Child of the Jago*. Edited with a biographical study by P. J. Keating. 208pp. MacGibbon and Kee. £2 5s.

In the current boom in reprints of the minor fiction writers of the earlier half of the century, few novelists can be more deserving of a second innings than Arthur Morrison. It was Morrison's distinction to write about the London poor without either condescension or exaggeration. He knew them as only one born among them can know them. Mr. P. J. Keating, in his biographical and critical introduction to this welcome new edition of *A Child of the Jago*, has produced Morrison's birth certificate, from which it is clear that he was not a Kentish man as he led people to believe in his lifetime, but was born in Poplar in 1863, and his father was an engine fitter; hence the scenes in the engineering works in *To London Town*, with their fascinating authenticity.

As one reads this account of his life and work, it is illuminating to compare his career with that of George Gissing, the English writer who immediately preceded him as the chronicler of the nether world. Gissing had a great many opportunities to come in from the cold, and he wrecked almost all of them. Morrison seized opportunity as soon as it was offered and went from strength to strength, working his way through journalism into literature and finally out the other end into respectability and riches. He got his initial encouragement in literary life from W. E. Henley—the equivalent figure in his career to Frederic Harrison in Gissing's—and in 1893 he contributed a number of East End stories to the *National Observer*. These formed the heart of his highly successful book, *Tales of Mean Streets*.

Later he became a contributor to the *Strand Magazine*, and we get a rare first-hand impression of him in the history of that journal by Reginald Pound (who unfortunately perpetuates the Kentish man/Civil Servant myth of Morrison's origins and original profession):

> My mental image of him is coloured by his time-rouged cheekbones, on which rested the gold-rimmed *pince-nez* which he looked over rather than through. There was a hint of the sage about him, and it was not necessarily derived from his preoccupation with Oriental art. He was a quietly companionable man who talked with the authority of distinguished reminiscence. . . He told me of Edmund Gosse referring to Marie Corelli as "that little milliner". Morrison said that it was "the most opprobrious remark that could be made about a woman at that time".

Morrison's readiness to submit to the journalistic yoke was most beneficial to his fiction. Among the story writers of the 1890s he has a sharpness of observation and of timing that puts him in a class by himself. Among those who have specialized in writing about the London poor he is an incomparable stylist, being wholly without blur. It was with the fellow-feeling of a master in another field that later he came to describe the technique of Japanese painting: "A wet brush was used on a sheet of paper or silk, on which the design must be placed boldly, rapidly, without hesitation, and once and for all—for there was no recalling the touch once hazarded." Certainly the author of those brilliantly focused snapshots of degradation, *Tales of Mean Streets*, many of them showing how the poor are the victims not of the rich but of each other, did not, as Mr. Frank Swinnerton has recently asserted, lack invention in that book, nor in its savage sequel *A Child of the Jago*.

Morrison's master, like Gissing's, was Dickens, and it may or may not be by chance that the phrase "mean streets" for London's criminal slumland first appears in *Oliver Twist*. When Fagin hastens to meet Sikes to outline the plan for the Maylie robbery he leaves Whitechapel in the direction of Spitalfields:

> He kept on his course, through many winding and narrow ways, until he reached Bethnal Green; then turning suddenly to the left, he soon became involved in a maze of mean and dirty streets which abound in that close and densely populated quarter.

There was a notorious part of Bethnal Green known as the Old Nichol which, Mr. Keating explains, was in the parish of a remarkable Church of England priest, the Reverend Arthur Osborne Jay, who on reading Morrison's collection of tales wrote to him appreciatively and invited him to visit the Old Nichol because it did not conform to the general image of poverty in his book. It was in fact a region of complete criminality, totally lacking in human values, a lethal jungle within a vaster drearier jungle of the East End. Having accepted the invitation and visited the place, Morrison set about immortalizing it in terms of a boy whose whole environment it was, *A Child of the Jago*.

In the masterly book which he produced he faced many of the problems which had earlier exercised Gissing—are the London poor redeemable? do they have a moral sense at all? are they a different species? what are the chances of escape for the exceptional individual?—and he came to the same depressing negative conclusions. What is of such absorbing interest about the novel when we read it today is not so much the character and plight of the boy Perrott despite his engaging pluck and spirit (in some ways he anticipates the boy Pinkie in *Brighton Rock*) or the portrait of Jay as Father Sturt, but the complex hierarchy of physical aggression surrounding them: coshers preying on the unwary stray, the isolated drunken assaulters, the father-son family brutality, fisticuffs between rival ogresses, the great gang battles, and last of all, the fights of the champions (with all the apparatus of odds and bookmaking) to determine the reigning supremacy. It is like chivalry in reverse. In the whole of Gissing you will hardly find a punch-up. Morrison saw that the way to write about these people was to show what they did, to show them in action. Animal aggression was their condition and a fight was something which Morrison knew how to describe.

His work as a clerk in the People's Palace—one thinks of Gissing's brief period devilling for the secretary of the London Skin Hospital in Leicester Square—gave him sufficient insight into the limitations of philanthropy together with a breath of culture as a mitigating influence. What he did not know then and what we know today is how strongly the spirit of the Jago has outlived the Jago itself. Welfare and education may serve to fan the flames of an aggression which is essentially gratuitous.

Morrison convinces us that Dicky Perrott is doomed to live and die a child of the Jago even though the melodramatic murder of a Fagin-figure, one Aaron Weech, which brings this about is not in itself particularly convincing. However, one agrees that the odds against the boy, even with the sporadic help of Father Sturt, are far too strong.

Yet even in the odious Weech there is a move towards realism and away from the traditional theatrical villain. Fagin, like Harpagon, was a miser, a hoarder; Weech is a fence, that key figure of the underworld. The importance and iniquity of fences was something which Morrison seized upon with alacrity in his fiction of the London underworld. By a brilliant stroke in his other masterpiece, *The Hole in the Wall*, which also has a growing boy as its hero, the beloved father-figure—the boy's dignified and revered grandfather—is himself a fence, whose front is the pub he runs in dockland, another area which Morrison seems to have known intimately. It is as if Mr. Brownlow and Rose Maylie were secretly corrupt too, thereby adding several more turns to the screw. The double method of narration in this novel, which seems to have worried many of its critics and admirers, surely stems from this ambiguity at its centre. It is an ambiguity which cannot be resolved except by a change of heart and, as Mr. Keating says, the burning of the pub at the end of the book represents the destruction of the shady past, and the final sentence—which is the boy's "As for me I went to school at last"—is as near as we shall ever get to Morrison's autobiography.

Gissing stayed a little longer in the nether world than Morrison—as a novelist, that is—and wrote about it more copiously. He was more concerned about its female victims, but the interesting thing about both men is how they grew out of this commitment to poverty and sought a compensating and sustaining interest in a world of classical purity: in Gissing's case it was the literature of Greece and Rome, with the hope of residence in some Mediterranean land, and in Morrison's it was that distillation of the Buddha's stillness that may be found in the painters of Japan. Once again Morrison is closer to us now. Against that it must be said that the student of Morrison's work will come across a great deal, such as the Martin Hewitt Sherlock Holmes imitations, for which no one so far has been prepared to say a kind word. Mr. Pound even tells us how Morrison went out with Sir George Newnes's son Frank to a crossroads near Hatfield to bury the five hundred gold sovereigns for the *Tit Bits* treasure hunt. Gissing never did anything like that.

Look at me

IVAN GOLD: *Sick Friends*. 368pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 35s.

Jason Sams's complaint is not very different from Portnoy's, but it is certainly not played for laughs in Ivan Gold's loquacious novel. Military service in Japan and a trip to Europe have bequeathed him a number of genito-urinary symptoms, a drink problem, a pattern of earnest, even sentimental, promiscuity, and an attendant psychotherapist. He is bearded now, and living off one of those improbably generous advances with which American publishers will reward the *succès d'estime* of even a first book of short stories. He divides his time between work on a long novel about his friends and the seeking out of ladies who repel him by their eagerness or entice by their indifference. When an old friend sends an Armenian girl to visit him, he wearily prepares her seduction, and with what is meant to pass for honesty elaborately chronicles the heavings and buckings of his first days with her. Beyond a certain largeness of limb and evasiveness of conversational style, Christa is not made a real person, perhaps because she remains an enigma for Sams himself, whose knowledge of her, beyond the purely carnal, is confused rather than increased by his guilty reading of her diary, his suspicions and the apparent reality of her unfaithfulness and uncertain feeling for him.

Mr. Gold makes no bones about the autobiographical nature of his novel. His hero sits down at the end of it all to write *Sick Friends*, and throughout the book he introduces his characters in that off-hand, name-dropping way people do when they are trying to interest their new friends in their old ones. Sams and Christa each come to the affair armed with a "cast of characters". Sams admits failing to master her cast, and it is a failure which extends to his own, for his friends remain names with only advisory roles in his life now. In more than one way this is "the gut-clearing novel" Sams himself is engaged in writing, an effort more therapeutic for its author than its reader.

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The razzia on the Jews of Rome

ROBERT KATZ: *Black Sabbath.* 398pp. Arthur Barker. £2 5s.

On the morning of Saturday, October 16, 1943, while Allied forces were some ninety miles south of Rome, within the city the S.S. began rounding up the Jews. The Jewish community of Rome, which had a continuous history extending back over more than 2,000 years, numbered only about 12,000. Of these only 1,056 made the journey from Rome to Auschwitz. Fifteen came back after the war.

Mr. Katz has been brilliantly successful in piecing together the story of the *razzia*. He has depended primarily on the testimony of Arminio Wachsberger, one of the deportees (a man who was in a privileged position, because as a German-speaker he was used by the S.S. as an interpreter), of Ugo Foà, president of the Jewish community of Rome, and of Dante Almansi, formerly Prefect of the Realm and later president of the union of Jewish communities in Italy. The story is fascinating, and one wishes that similar accounts could be written about the hundreds of Jewish communities all over Europe; in most cases, unfortunately, the evidence was destroyed together with the victims.

The interesting thing about the Rome deportation was that no one, with the exception of the man actually carrying it out, S.S. Captain Dannecker, really wanted it to take place. The Romans were friendly to the Jews and hostile to the Germans, and a number of opportunities were given to individual Jews to escape. The Vatican was sympathetic to the Jews, but at the same time refused to use its influence with the Germans to prevent the deportation. The only ones who did try to prevent it were some Germans themselves. Particularly active in this respect was the Legation Secretary in the Vatican, Albrecht von Kessel, the Consul and Legation Secretary in Rome, Friedrich von Möllhausen and Gerhard Gumpert, and even the local head of the Gestapo, Herbert Kappler. It was Kappler's idea to ward off or postpone the deportation by extorting from the Jews 50 kilograms of gold. This was a success, but it did not satisfy the gentlemen in Berlin who wanted Jewish blood more than Jewish gold. The gold was found after the war in a corner in Kaltenbrunner's office. "No one, it was discovered, had ever bothered to open it."

After the Jews had been rounded up, Kessel and Gumpert drafted a letter of protest which they hoped could be sent from the Vatican. The Holy See, however, careful as always not to damage the excellent relations it had with the German authorities, permitted the protest to be sent only by Bishop Hudal, Rector of the German Catholic Church in Rome. The letter did, however, warn that if the arrests were not stopped the Pope would have to denounce them publicly.

Equally excellent is Mr. Katz's description of the long journey in freight cars from Rome to Auschwitz. In the camp itself there was great excitement at the supposed arrival of "five thousand rich Italian Jews"—in fact most of them were poor. Mr. Katz comments:

> It was as if an internationally celebrated company of performers were coming to town, cosmopolitan men and women who would not only entertain and delight them, but also bring tidings from the distant city and the bright lights of civilization.

Their reception was in fact no different from that of other transports, except that the camp commandant, Rudolf Höss, and the camp physician, Josef Mengele, themselves attended the selection. It was Mengele also who prescribed that the 40 days of quarantine were unnecessary for those who came from so civilized and consequently so sanitary a city as Rome, "a circumstance that only hastened the death of many of them". As it is, 850 were immediately put to death.

On June 4, 1944, Rome fell to the Allies. That evening a ceremony was held in the *tempio maggiore* in which the survivors thanked the Allies for liberating them. The community was, however, soon torn apart by a feud between Foà and Almansi on the one hand, and on the other by the Chief Rabbi Zolli. The Rabbi, who had been born on the borderlands between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires and was a naturalized Italian citizen, had begun to preach against Nazism as early as 1933 and had turned against Fascism when Italy too had begun to discriminate against its Jews. Unlike Foà and Almansi, who had supreme confidence in the value of their contacts with the Italian Fascist hierarchy, Zolli saw the danger to the Jews in the German occupation of Italy. He tried to persuade Foà to organize an underground escape of Jews, and when this failed he pleaded with him to destroy the two lists of Jews which were in the community's possession. Foà's answer was, according to Zolli: "If the Duce proclaims himself Head of State, we will have to remove the portrait of the King." The feud was further complicated by Rabbi Zolli's religious experiences. On the Day of Atonement, 1944, while presiding over the services in the Synagogue, he saw a vision of Christ. Before long he resigned his post and was baptized into the Catholic Church. This apostasy weakened the anti-Foà camp.

Foà defended himself against his critics by maintaining that the Germans did not in fact use the lists of names and addresses and that they had only seized the contributors' list while the much fuller card-index file had been "transported elsewhere". Mr. Katz has no difficulty in showing that Foà was lying, that the Germans were in possession of both indexes, and that in this way the heads of the community made the rounding up of Jews far easier. He points out also that the president of the Venetian community managed to destroy his list.

So far Mr. Katz has presented an extremely moving, well written and well documented story, and it is unlikely that much more can ever be added to it. But on the basis of this material he has involved himself in the controversy over the question of Jewish collaboration—a subject hotly debated since the trials of Rudolf Kastner in 1956 and of Adolf Eichmann in 1961. Unlike Hannah Arendt, who believes that Jewish leaders cooperated with the Nazis in order to save Jewish lives, Mr. Katz regards this as of secondary importance. "The Jewish leaders", he writes, "had cooperated with the Germans to save their people *in order that their institutions might survive*" (his italics) and he points out that the leaders of the community went to considerable lengths to hide the gold and silver ornaments of the Synagogue but not the lists of names.

He concludes that organized Jewry could have survived if only one Jewish fertile couple had been rescued, "but if it had not saved its institutions, it would have sunk into the quicksands of history like the guilds, the czardom and vaudeville". Therefore the Jews were

> slaughtered like cockroaches simply because they were tricked. Tricked by their non-Jewish and Jewish leaders from the day of their birth until the moment they smelled gas coming from the metal columns rather than felt the spray of water from the phony pipes.

And why not? The Italian Jews fought alongside their Gentile countrymen in an imperialist war against black people in Ethiopia, they fought for Franco, and they took full part in the life of Fascist Italy. Jews in other countries were equally integrated in the lives of their societies and shared in their false values. Mr. Katz's staggering conclusion is that the extermination of the Jews was carried out by Nazi Germany

> with the almost universal cooperation of a social system in which genocide was possible and was carried out. The leaders of all these peoples, German and non-German, Jewish and non-Jewish, bear a corresponding responsibility greater than anyone else.

With the role of the Jews themselves included, there now remains no innocent people, and thus guilt can at last be put in its proper place.

It is the social system which bears the guilt which "is hopeless". Of necessity the leaders of society, being the primary beneficiaries of this social system, are the more guilty.

It is a pity that Mr. Katz had to burden his excellent book with a foreword and a conclusion that are full of historical judgments which he takes to be of universal acceptance but which are not universally accepted, of sociological analysis which betrays his ignorance of sociology, of views on international relations which show him to be so prejudiced as to be a poor guide in that subject, and what is most surprising—very little understanding of Jewish life and society. Jewish communities have always lived precarious lives, never knowing when the *goyim* were going to descend upon them. They had worked out laws of coexistence with them and they had survived countless pogroms. Few could believe that the Nazis would actually try to kill *all* the Jews. Foà's guilt lay in the fact that he was excessively slow to realize that his Fascist protectors had been swept away in Mussolini's new republic and that the Germans were now responsible for the fate of the Jews. His guilt is inexcusable no doubt, but it hardly proves that he tried to save the community by sacrificing individual Jews. Other prominent Jews, Almansi and Zolli, went into hiding. Foà believed that it was his duty to remain in his place with his people. Does this make him guilty of collaboration with the Nazis? The phenomenon of Nazism and that of genocide have been much studied and certainly we have not yet got anywhere near to explaining them. Simply to say that it was the fault of the social system is both false and of no help.

The attractions of irrationalism

H. R. KEDWARD: *Fascism in Western Europe, 1900-45.* 260pp. Blackie. 22s. 6d.

Mr. Kedward has written what is probably the most illuminating study to date of so-called Fascism. He is careful to distinguish between the various brands to the extent of considering the view that there was really no such thing at all; this would however tend, he writes, "to ignore the conviction of most Fascists that they were part of a general movement designed to change not merely their own nation but the whole of society".

Fascism was, then, Mr. Kedward shows, a reaction of irrationalism against the belief in the virtue and value of reason which was established in the eighteenth century, and perhaps affected the nineteenth century even more profoundly. Fascism was originally, that is to say in Italy, associated with the Futurists and the great break with traditionalism in the arts which took place immediately before the outbreak of war in 1914. As so often—and here is the difficulty of trying to equate Mussolini with Hitler—National Socialism had a different background. On the contrary it was descended from the conservative romanticism of "folkishness" and detested the new art. In this case one irrationalism fought the other. Nazi art being more like socialist realism. This, however, brings one to another of Mr. Kedward's points, that Fascism was a synthesis of contradictions and is therefore impossible to define exactly.

What else, then, can be safely said about the irrationalism of Western Europe in the first half of the twentieth century? It hoped to reconcile capitalism with socialism by the achievement of the corporate state; here again Nazi Germany diverged, aiming only at Hitler's "leadership" of German industry. In a great many ways Fascism resembled communism—in a sense both even aimed at a classless society, one levelled up and the other levelled down. It is important historically, Mr. Kedward emphasizes, to explain the attraction of the fascisms in order to account for the period of their success. In addition to notions of social equality there was much emphasis on the role of elites and of heroes within them (even this is not absent from communism in practice); this was attractive for all the ambitious who expected to find themselves among the privileged members of society.

Democracy is particularly easy to abuse in times of economic depression. It is then said that all its supporters are old men. Here—and to this, too, Mr. Kedward does justice—was one of Fascism's charms, that it exalted the young. This link with the present must not be neglected. "Caught up in the destruction of war, Fascism retains the image of a young, violent movement which brought opposites together in a dynamic assertion of primitive and modern man." But then Fascism was exploded by its failure in war. Now, when its defeat has been forgotten and its name smothered with derision, the claims of the young, glorying again in irrationalism, lead back to Fascism. Indeed the intimidation which young people are so ready to exert is often justified by nihilistic assertions close to the speeches of the young Mussolini.

As a contributor to the history of the period Mr. Kedward does well to rescue the appeasers from the indictment of Fascist motives. With many of them it was their very dislike of injustice and violence which made them into appeasers. His case for psychological interpretations, Hitler as the social misfit, and so on, seems weaker. Owing to Hitler's facility for lying, the truth about his background is not known except perhaps by Franz Jetzinger, who has unearthed some interesting facts; for instance it has turned out that Hitler was not short of money when he lived in Vienna.

However necessary it may be to remember that Fascism was made attractive by its cult of youth, comradeship and pageantry, it was always based upon deception, injustice, intimidation and the humiliation of the dissident. In a period of rapid technological advance it was possible to go to unprecedented lengths in each of these directions.

Two recent additions to the Harper and Row series, "The Rise of Modern Europe", are Gordon Wright's *The Ordeal of Total War, 1939-1945* (324pp., 21s.) and William L. Langer's *Political and Social Upheaval, 1832-1852* (674pp., 33s.). The former is a useful summary of a whole subject which is more commonly studied in its various aspects; the latter is a stimulating survey of two crucial decades, with particular emphasis on social and intellectual currents. Both books have ample references to sources, and very full bibliographical essays. They will be found useful by many people who are unable to go to more specialist studies.

Restless years

DEREK BEALES: *From Castlereagh to Gladstone, 1815-1885.* 328pp. Nelson. £2 5s.

This is a business-like and valuable book on the seven decades after Waterloo. While political issues are dominant Mr. Beales gives a full account of the economic, social, religious and cultural life of those restless years; the book is in short a skilful amalgam of the point of view to be found in *The Age of Reform* by E. L. Woodward and the *Portrait of an Age* by G. M. Young. In the earlier years of this century those who, like Mr. Beales, taught history used to attach great importance to what in those days was called "meat". They disliked opinion; they were suspicious of theory; they were frightened by flights of imaginative fancy; they looked for information and for facts clearly presented. The book under notice, with its excellent index, answers most admirably those tiresome questions—who? what? and why? For instance the inquirer may spend many hours wading through political histories and specialized studies to determine what the Reform Bill of 1832 did; with Mr. Beales's help he can see exactly what the Reform Bill did and the exact extent to which it enfranchized copyholders, short leaseholders and occupiers. It gives the answers.

Mr. Beales is especially good on the consequences of the great reforming legislation carried through between 1830 and 1850. He explains that the aristocracy and the squirarchy were not—as those members of the community expected overthrown; in fact they were strengthened for, as he expresses it, the establishment explicitly broadened itself. He defines the establishment (and does this as well as we are likely to see it done) by saying that the old or inner establishment withered under the blasts of reform and in its place the public, by which he means the well-informed and weighty parts of the community, mightily flourished. Those who have sought to depict the establishment—either historically or contemporarily—have perhaps concentrated too much on it as a social and "old boy" network without realizing how it was broadened and influenced by the weight of intelligence and informed opinion from without. The author also reminds us of a different but kindred development. Unlike France and Germany where nineteenth-century reforms were accompanied by the creation of a great state machinery, England carried through reforms which were quite as sweeping as those on the Continent but cost little and employed few. The period as a whole in England was a remarkable demonstration of the power of law backed in reality by little except public opinion.

The author is certainly correct to hammer home the political change which marks the close of the period he has chosen—namely, that after 1880 it was the country not the House of Commons which chose the government. By 1880 the growth of party was such that Disraeli's government, with a firm parliamentary majority, was displaced at a single blow by the electors. Previously, when parties were more fluid, the interpretation of general elections was left to the new parliament. Even as lately as the last two general elections in 1964 and 1966 a few voices were raised to remind electors that they were voting for a new House of Commons not for a party, not for a leader, not for a government. They would have been heeded before 1880; they were drowned in the 1960s. If in this in particular we see how close we are to those days, we see how remote we are from them in another way. Here is Mr. Cross, Home Secretary in Disraeli's government of 1874, introducing a housing measure: "I take it as a starting point that it is not the duty of the Government to provide any class of citizens with any of the necessaries of life."

If, as is likely, this book has a continuing life Mr. Beales might reconsider a few of his obiter dicta which sound here and there a little rough. Brooks's Club was not too frivolous for politicians after the Reform Bill; one of the great battles of the Liberal Party was fought within its comfortable walls, and Mr. Beales might remember the remark (though its attribution is uncertain) that during his period the club resembled a country house with the Duke lying dead upstairs. We should set against Mr. Beales's view that the Reform Bill really favoured the establishment—using that word in its conventional sense—an opinion of an opponent of the Bill at the time. This is Horace Twiss, who was described by Macaulay when the Bill finally passed, as having "the face of a damn'd soul", speaking in the House of Commons at the time: "It would remove from the House of Commons every alloy of monarchical and aristocratic principle, and convert it into a pure and resistless democracy."

The author has absorbed into his system a little of the frenzy about class which afflicts many nineteenth-century historians across the Atlantic. He tells us that the period of his choice was conspicuous for deference. Was it deference when Adam Bede, in the wood, knocked down Captain Donnithorne? He also tells us that the age was conspicuous for condescension "from above". Perhaps he was thinking of Squire Donnithorne's admiration of Mrs. Poyser's butter? Alas! there are sometimes in human nature such horrible things as ulterior motives. Although here and there Mr. Beales's remarks may vex some of his readers, vexation over trifles is swallowed up by admiration for the whole.

General without an enemy

JOHN ADAIR: *Roundhead General.* 258pp. Macdonald. £2 10s.

Dr. Adair's biography of Sir William Waller, the Roundhead general, is a most useful complement to the excellent biography of Lord Hopton produced last year by the American historian, Professor F. T. R. Edgar. The two generals were both associated with the West of England, they had been personal friends, and they fought each other in the battles of Lansdown and Roundway Down. Waller counted Lansdown as a victory, but Roundway Down was "my dismal defeat". Waller is famous for a letter he wrote to Hopton across the lines in which he spoke of the first Civil War as "this war without an enemy". Both generals would have said that they were fighting for the King, and in the end Waller contributed to the restoration of Charles II, serving as a member of the Council of State set up by Monck.

Both Waller and Hopton were amateur soldiers. Dr. Adair points out that Waller had only minimal military experience before the Civil War, serving briefly as a gentleman volunteer in the republic of Venice, while seven years later he was in Bohemia at the outset of the Thirty Years War. Like many country gentry, he raised a regiment for Parliament in 1642 because he was suspicious of the King's advisers, especially in relation to the Church. "All the ends I had in carrying on of that service", he wrote after the war, were "that God might have had his fear; the king his honour; the Houses of Parliament their privileges; the people of the kingdom their liberties and properties. . . ." Again, like many country gentry, Waller would not call himself either an "Independent" or a "Presbyterian", though he is frequently referred to by historians as the latter.

He sprang to prominence early in the war. He was a member of the first Committee of Safety, helped capture Portsmouth from General Goring, served at Edgehill, and after capturing Winchester and Chichester in the winter of 1642, he was appointed Major-General in the west. During 1643 he had numerous successes to his credit, taking Malmesbury, Tewkesbury, Monmouth, Usk, and Chepstow. Although he was defeated in a skirmish by Prince Maurice and lost the battle of Roundway Down to Hopton, he was hailed in London as "William the Conqueror" and in August, 1643, he was appointed an independent general, although the Earl of Essex soon used his influence as Roundhead commander-in-chief to put an end to that. Waller's greatest victory was at Cheriton, near Winchester, in March, 1644: though it was rather a lucky one, and he does not appear to have shown generalship of a high order.

Later that year Waller was unfairly blamed for not rescuing the Earl of Essex in the disastrous Lostwithiel campaign; and he was also one of the four generals in command at the second battle of Newbury. Dr. Adair suggests that the tactic of dividing the Roundhead army and trying to attack Charles I from the rear was Waller's, but there does not seem much substance in this. Incidentally, both at Lostwithiel and second Newbury King Charles himself was revealed as no mean general. Waller's last campaign was in 1645, when Oliver Cromwell served under him and was noted by Waller as being a most obedient subordinate. After the self-denying ordinance Waller lost his command, played no part in the second Civil War, and was excluded from the House of Commons at Pride's "purge". He was arrested and imprisoned at various places, but Cromwell as Lord Protector left him alone.

In what did Waller's ability as a soldier consist? He was said by one of his opponents to have been "the best shifter and chooser of ground when he was not the master of the field that I ever saw". He had inherited from his father the office of Chief Butler of England, and the perquisites made him a wealthy man. No doubt this wealth gave him a sense of security and independence, but he was also dedicated in his service and looked after his men well. Unlike Cromwell he did not insist on godly men as his officers but recruited any who were skilful. He seems to have been a good disciplinarian, but he was easily discouraged and there is small evidence of any great tactical capabilities. On the whole, one inclines to think that he was overrated by his contemporaries and is, not unnaturally, by his biographer.

Status war

JENNIFER LEVIN: *The Charter Controversy in the City of London, 1660-1688, and its Consequences.* 119pp. Athlone Press. 35s.

Mrs. Levin sees Charles II's calling in of the town charters in its legal rather than its political aspect. But before discussing the legal arguments and whether the surrenders were valid, she gives an adequate résumé of the situation and of the motives of Charles's government in demanding the return of the charters. The object of course was not so much to interfere with the ordinary functions of local government but to gain control of parliamentary elections and the administration of justice. In demanding London's surrender of its charter the king, it was said, was "attempting to reduce the City of London to the status of a small village".

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The studied and the spontaneous

F P. WILSON: *Shakespearian and Other Studies.* Edited by Helen Gardner. 345pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. £3 15s.

M. C. BRADBROOK: *Shakespeare the Craftsman.* The Clark Lectures. 1968. 187pp. Chatto and Windus. 30s.

While F. P. Wilson's *Shakespearian and Other Studies*, edited by Dame Helen Gardner, will be welcomed by all admirers of excellence, its appearance must sadly remind us that Wilson did not live to finish any of his three great undertakings: the volume on the Elizabethan drama for the "Oxford History of English Literature", the edition of Dekker's non-dramatic writings, and the revised and enlarged *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*. Of these the first was to have been his magnum opus. A completed segment of it, *The English Drama 1485-1585*, has received separate publication, and was reviewed here on July 3, 1969. Now we are given two additional long chapters, on the history play and on Shakespeare's comedies, from the same work. There will be no more.

These essays display Wilson's wonted authority and elegance of style, as well as his gentle and civilized humour. Sometimes all these qualities converge in a single fine sentence, as when he distils the essence of Holinshed:

> He did not look the gift-horses of the middle ages in the mouth, accepted the Trojan ancestry of Britain (according to Hayward a senseless fiction invented by Geoffrey of Monmouth), eked out the few facts known about Macbeth with a circumstantial romance composed by Hector Boece, and side by side with the death of kings, the carnage of war, the evolution of laws, he told of apparitions seen in the air, murders of private gentlemen like Arden of Feversham, disastrous fires, strange fish caught upon the coast, and the ingenious blacksmith who put about a flea's neck a golden chain of forty-three links with lock and key, which it drew with ease.

An introductory section defining the English history-play makes that vexed question look easy; but Wilson always wore his immense learning lightly. His work has also the considerable merit (in a literary history) of eschewing polemics. A special weight attaches to the judgment of such a critic: the scholar will not lightly pass over Wilson's remarks on the possibility of Shakespeare's hand in *Edward III*, or on the date of the *Merry Wives*, or on the relation of the anonymous *Troublesome Reign* to Shakespeare's *King John*, or that of *A Shrew* to *The Shrew*.

What of ordinary readers? These will find themselves in the hands of a wise and humane guide, one who resists the critical ingenuity that would make a Vice of Falstaff or have us see *Love's Labour's Lost* as a coterie comedy built round a School of Night which perhaps never existed. They will obtain many shrewd insights into Shakespeare's characters (never mind that some are repeated from Wilson's other writings), and they will come away with a heightened appreciation of the function of rhetorical figures in his style.

These are good things. Yet, if ripeness is much, it is not in this context all. One has at times an uneasy sense that the writer's imagination is not operating at full stretch, that not all his resources of intellect and sensibility are concentrated upon the object. Did Wilson, one wonders, give so much of himself to his lectures and travels and exertions on behalf of others during his last years when his health was failing, that he sometimes turned with weariness to his main task? Literary history is often less adventurous than other kinds of criticism, yet it need not be so, as companion volumes in the Oxford History, notably those by Lewis and Bush, testify. But the virtues of sanity and grace must not be underestimated. One may recommend these chapters to the undergraduate with an easy conscience.

So too the non-specialist reader will profit from the reprinted papers on "Shakespeare and the Diction of Common Life", "Shakespeare's Reading", and "The Elizabethan Theatre". Some of the remaining essays, such as those on mock-prognostications and seventeenth-century jest-books, have more restricted appeal. A paper on ana, or table talk, is slighter than these, but amusing. All (except for memoirs of Chambers and Greg) originated as lectures, and suffer at times from the inhibitions imposed by the genre. "I begin with some remarks on the public stages", Wilson says at one point, "but in the time at my disposal I must make the most drastic omissions."

There are a few slips (it is not a fact but a speculation that Middleton wrote *The Puritan*, Greg's edition of *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* is misdated, some names are spelt inconsistently, &c.), but these are all trifling. The editor has performed her difficult task with exemplary skill. A good deal of surgery, she tells us, was required to make self-contained essays of what were intended as part of a larger canvas. Even the eight previously published papers offered problems, for although Wilson had not formally revised them, he had incorporated additional matter, and it was left to the editor to determine the mode of presentation. All students of Elizabethan literature owe Dame Helen a debt of gratitude for her selfless labours.

Shakespeare the Craftsman offers a study in contrast. Wilson, one feels, deeply meditated every statement before putting pen to paper; Professor Bradbrook gives the impression of spontaneity. She is blithely uneven, offering a scrappy survey of the history and organization of Shakespeare's company and a fully orchestrated chapter on *Timon* (the latter being her inaugural lecture at Cambridge).

The mode of discourse matches the content: heterogeneous ideas are without transition yoked together in short, sometimes bitty, paragraphs, as Professor Bradbrook hops birdlike from topic to topic. Not infrequently, however, she comes up with a juicy worm of an idea.

Few others, surely, can have thought of seeking a common pattern that unites *King John* and *Henry VIII*, plays which would appear to be alike only in standing apart from the two historical tetralogies. If Professor Bradbrook fails to make a prima facie case, the juxtaposition nevertheless invites fresh insights. So too she has something original to say about Sonnets 85 and 86, which she relates to the competition of the poets at the Great Festival of the Piu, London's foreign merchants. The writings of Robert Armin, Shakespeare's clown, had been unaccountably ignored; Professor Bradbrook remedies the deficiency in an informative vignette. Unintimidated by prevailing orthodoxies, she will have none of the view that *Timon* is an unfinished and (in Shakespeare's day) unperformed play. Rather she sees it as

> *A Dramatick Shew of the Life of Timon of Athens, wherein his progress through the Four Seasons, as also through the Four Humours in an earthly Zodiack is set forth, together with the City Vice of Usury in diverse Senators, the snarling asperity of prideful Scholars, and the mercenary decline of Poetry and Painting in this latter age. All displayed in sundry variety of dramatick utterance, chiefly by way of Paradoxes.*

This is good fun as well as being significant criticism.

When it comes to scholarly rigour, however, Professor Bradbrook lets us down. She mars names, dates, and quotations in the relating. O. B. Hardison appears disguised as J. O. Hardison; Van Doren, as Van Doran; Panofsky, as Panovsky. There are other misspellings. Manningham's contemporary anecdote about the rivalry of Shakespeare and Burbage for a citizen's favours is improbably misdated 1662. Some lines from Sonnet 144 are attributed to 194 (there are only 154). She can make a comical hash of quotations: words drop out, are substituted or misplaced. A couplet in *Timon*, described as jingling like false money, jingles the more falsely for having a word omitted. One would not know from her reproduction of Antony's speech, "Sometimes we see a cloud that's dragonish . . ." (*Antony and Cleopatra*, IV. xiv), that it is twice interrupted, and the inadvertent omission of half-a-dozen words wrecks the sense.

This carelessness unfortunately extends to interpretative issues. Shakespeare, we are quaintly informed, "seems to have acted a sort of banker and general agent for his Stratford friends when he was in London". Presumably Professor Bradbrook is thinking of the Quiney letter asking the poet for a loan of £30, but this is to say the least inadequate evidence for her conclusion. Elsewhere she speaks of the "atmospheric intensities" of Kyd's *Hamlet*; but it is not certain that Kyd wrote the lost *Hamlet*, and one cannot safely talk about its atmosphere on the basis of an eighteenth-century German text of a Hamlet play. The author sees reflected in the *Merry Wives* Shakespeare's matchmaking efforts when he lodged with a Huguenot family in London; but the dramatist did not know the Mountjoys until after his play was written. In this chapter, called "Royal Command", much is made of the "very early" tradition that the comedy was written in a fortnight at the Queen's request. This tradition is less implausible than most, but it is not "very early," having been first recorded in 1702, a full century after the fact.

Yet there are good things in the discussion of *Merry Wives*. Professor Bradbrook sets herself against a formidable body of critical opposition to the play (Wilson regards it as the least worthy of Shakespeare's comedies), as she emphasizes the craft virtues of a farce with "the crowded vivacity of a Breughel painting". She has a point, and one which receives independent affirmation from the success of the recent Royal Shakespeare Company production.

In "The New Clown" Professor Bradbrook treats the impact upon Shakespeare's art of Armin's presence in the company, her chief exhibit being *Twelfth Night*. But we cannot be sure that Armin had joined the Chamberlain's Men by the time this play was written. The problem is summed up, in usual masterly fashion, by Wilson in the essay on jest-books in *Shakespearian and Other Studies*.

Professor Bradbrook has as one of her purposes to relate Shakespeare's craftsmanship to the particular circumstances that gave rise to an individual play. Thus *Henry VIII* is a craft-pageant intended by the King's players "to give the select audience of their expensive theatre the Blackfriars a spectacular triumph". But can we really speak of it as a Blackfriars play? The earliest reference to production is at the Globe, and in fact the theatrical provenance of Shakespeare's last plays is uncertain (see Seltzer's essay in *Later Shakespeare*, 1967). The same problem occurs in more acute form in the chapter on *Timon*, which, Professor Bradbrook argues, was also performed at Blackfriars. She assumes that actual music for the masque in Act I is preserved in a British Museum manuscript containing an air called "The Amazonians' Masque". But the title excepted, is there any evidence that the reference is to *Timon*? It is not the only stage-work of the period to feature Amazons: a "Maske of Amasones" was given at Court in 1579, and another, in which Lady Hay was to have appeared as the Queen of the Amazons, was intended for performance in January, 1618, but cancelled. It is not even certain that all the tunes in the manuscript actually belong to masques. Nor is this reviewer convinced that, as Professor Bradbrook maintains, the anonymous *Comedy of Timon* parodies Shakespeare's play. Her hypothesis of the Blackfriars performance is intriguing but remains unproved.

Yet the essay as a whole is brilliant. Professor Bradbrook makes the striking point that the plotting of *Timon* is emblematic rather than dramatic, and she discerns two patterns throughout, the theatrical and the cosmic. As a result of her discussion our understanding of a deeply puzzling work is permanently enriched. One may quarrel with some of her views, one may wish that she attended more carefully to her transcriptions and to the marshalling of evidence; but she is always stimulating. In these days especially, when the academic mills grind so remorselessly and often so dully, that is a quality greatly to be valued.

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Searching for the real Macbeth

JAMES FERGUSSON: *The Man Behind Macbeth and Other Studies.* 187pp. Faber and Faber. £2 5s.

The nub of Sir James Fergusson's interesting book is contained in two essays. The first is a brief account of the visits to Scotland of Laurence Fletcher and his players between 1595 and 1601; as the first English actors to come to Scotland, they gained the reprobation of the church and the protection of King James VI. The second is a long essay suggesting that Shakespeare, influenced by his friend Fletcher who had been in Scotland, based the characters of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth in part on those of James Stewart, umquhile Earl of Arran, and his wife. Stewart was an ambitious man, urged on by an ambitious wife who (it was thought at the time) had some dealings with witches. He had a few years of power as chancellor; there is one shred of very doubtful evidence that he may have aimed at the crown; this is highly improbable, but it may have entered into the hostile legend.

Sir James, a good scholar, puts this thesis forward modestly and tentatively. It can neither be proved nor disproved. James Stewart may well have been one of Shakespeare's many sources. But how much is he likely to have known about him? Stewart rose to power about 1579 and fell from it finally in 1585; after ten further years in obscurity, he was killed by a private person in the year when Fletcher first visited Scotland. To Shakespeare he can only have been one of the many turbulent characters in Scottish politics, neither the most important nor the most recent, even if (as Dover Wilson tentatively suggested) the play was written about 1601 for presentation by Fletcher's company in Scotland. If so, Shakespeare would perhaps have been the less likely to meddle with the politics of a foreign country; it would be a little too much like writing a play nowadays round the character of Malenkov in the hopes of getting a favourable reception at a first night in Moscow—logically conceivable, but rather dangerous.

If, on the other hand, Shakespeare wrote the play about 1606, shortly before its first presentation in England, it is even less likely that the Scottish politics of twenty years before would have served him as a major source; though no one can deny that it may have been a minor source, and one is grateful to Sir James for the suggestion. On balance it seems safer to attribute most of the characterization to Shakespeare, who did not need a model from the life for everything he wrote.

However, Sir James makes a good point when he says that the true background of the play is Scotland at the turn of the sixteenth century, and that it would be better so produced, with costumes and scenery of that time, rather than as a fudged-up piece of Scottish medievality, about which the normal producer knows as little as Shakespeare did. This is the Scotland of which the Englishman, under James VI and I, was just beginning to learn more by somewhat exaggerated but not entirely false repute: a country of wild feuds, disputed government, rough manners and politics, and not a little witchcraft.

The other studies are lightweights but excellent of their kind: mostly essays drawn from Sir James's native Carrick or from his family history. Two are of particular interest: one, a typically Scottish history of a family which for some centuries owned lands near Kilkerran and proved that barbarism may be unavoidable but does not pay. They were in constant trouble from quarrels, crime, murder and (once the kirk got its grip on society) from fornication. Somehow or other they just survived till the eighteenth century when (as so often) the new standards proved too much for them and they lost their lands. The other is a short study of that excellent scholar James Thomson, Sir James's predecessor (under another title) as Keeper of the Records of Scotland. By a charming chance, he was born in Sir James's native parish and owed his first advancement to Sir James's forebears.

Hispanists will welcome the new Clásicos Castalia editions of Don Juan Manuel's *El Conde Lucanor*, Félix María de Samaniego's *Fábulas*, and the *Obras* of Conde de Villamediana—best known for his amorous pursuits and mysterious murder. Fully annotated by reputable scholars and (unlike previous standard paperback editions of Spanish classics, the student will note with relief) attractively presented, with plates—including portraits and facsimile pages from the manuscripts and first editions—this series makes readily available the works of authors hitherto better known than read.

Americanization

JURGEN BECKER: *Bilder. Häuser. Hausfreunde.* 108pp. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp. DM 10.

Of these three plays for radio, which were broadcast for the first time by the Süddeutscher Rundfunk and the Westdeutscher Rundfunk in 1969, the first is a tour de force, the second a polished but routine exercise in Jürgen Becker's established manner, and the third just an agreeable *blödelei*. However, all of them are notable additions to the canon of this most German of literary forms. Herr Becker has shown that he is as much at home here as in the field of prose fiction, and has vigorously set about remodelling the form of the radio play, just as he broke new ground for the other medium in *Felder* and *Ränder*. That the *Hörspiel*, as currently broadcast by the eleven radio networks in the Federal Republic, needs a powerful shot in the arm will not be disputed. It is to be hoped that writers and producers pay these plays the attention they deserve.

Like Reinhard Lettau (whose influence on the language of these plays is frequently evident), Jürgen Becker has in his works tried to isolate the tangible substance of life in middle-class circles in West Germany, and mould this into appropriate forms. One of the main themes in the work of both is the Americanization of West Germany. In *Bilder*, the writer could hardly be more explicit: every so often someone exclaims in the pauses between the dialogues: "—Das ist ja, das ist ja das Empire State Building!"

It is indeed the Empire State Building; and the fascination it exercises—together with one Harrimann (the Godot of the piece), and various lesser Anglo-Saxon figures—seems to be the heart of the matter. For no amount of material prosperity can make Germans Americans; and the tension created by the magnetic field across the Atlantic is reflected in the hard, flat, colloquial *Hochdeutsch* which Herr Becker has taken as his raw material.

The reader (and producer) is offered the string of dialogues which make up the play without being told who speaks the lines. In fact there are no characters in the normal sense: for instance, most of what is said could be spoken equally well by a man or a woman. (This applies even to the more intimate snatches of dialogue, where the position is still not entirely clear.) The voices are constantly changing—and with them the subjects of conversation—and yet seem to be constantly returning; but only to utter speeches like:

—Ach sagen Sie, Sie sind doch—nicht wahr—Sie sind . . .?
—Wer bin ich?
—Ach nein, verzeihen Sie, Sie sind es nicht—aber, Sie sehen aber so aus.

It is the strength of *Bilder* that it is impossible (as it was with *Felder* and *Ränder*) to say just what it is about. *Häuser* is, as the title suggests, about houses, and this dependence on a thoroughly concrete theme deprives it of the suspense of *Bilder*: it is, in fact, dramatically very unfortunate that we know from the beginning what is going to happen. One snatch of conversation leads without logical connexion to another, as in *Bilder*: but as they are all without exception concerned with aspects of living in houses, the result is harmless drawing-room satire.

The fault of *Hausfreunde* is the opposite one: here tension is lacking because it quickly becomes evident that it is only a piece of elegant clowning, without the elusive nucleus of *Bilder*. A couple talk at cross-purposes for eighteen pages, and that is more or less all there is to it.

In turning from fiction to radio plays, Jürgen Becker has switched his attention from the inner to the outer man: instead of the soliloquies and streams of consciousness we have literature composed entirely of conversation, produced out of the audible surface of life. At the same time the quality of montage has all but disappeared from his work. Montage, it is true, can be difficult to identify with certainty, and in any case there is no precise boundary between what is and what is not montage. But the coincidence of this change with Becker's taking up the radio play is an interesting development.

Conversation

RENE DE OBALDIA: *Wind in the Branches of the Sassafras.* Translated by Joseph Foster. 108pp. 25s. (Paperback, 9s.) ROLAND DUBILLARD: *The Swallows.* Translated by Barbara Wright. 119pp. 25s. (Paperback, 10s.) NATHALIE SARRAUTE: *Silence* and *The Lie.* Translated by Maria Jolas. 64pp. 18s. (Paperback, 8s.). Calder and Boyars.

Wind in the Branches of the Sassafras is a parody, the introduction announces, of every Western ever made. John Rockefeller is seventy years old; he has acquired in his tough life a puritanical wife, a pretty daughter ready for all—and any—experience, a no-good son who turns out to be a hero, a drunken Doc Holliday doctor, and a homestead which he spends most of the play defending from either one or another tribe of Indians (all played by one actor and sound effects) or a gang of outlaws. The play ran successfully in Paris, but the translation is clumsy, and one is finally more irritated than amused.

Roland Dubillard's *The Swallows* was ignored in Paris by the critics and then hailed by writers like Ionesco as a major play. A young milliner comes up to Paris looking for work now that her aunt has died, and stumbles for an interview into the wrong shop. The two young men who run it change their line of business every week—from ironmongery to china to nude photography. They are apparently supported by an aunt, Madame Severin, who runs a hat shop, and the girl, Germaine, stays as her assistant.

None of the promising elements in this first act—the inability of young people to decide what to do with their lives, Madame Severin's bourgeois nagging about their careers, Germaine's eager confusion at being for the first time out in the wide world—is pursued to any depth or point. Everything is sacrificed for talk which only shows that talk does nothing in the end except set up barriers. So we get an amusing but vague play, with a whimsical emphasis on hats and cheese flans.

The two short, plotless plays by Nathalie Sarraute are no more than conversation-pieces. In one, a man is silent, because he refuses to speak. The others are defensive and joke about it; they accuse him and accuse themselves. His silence disrupts the normal flow of social action and reveals nicely the tensions that are possible just beneath the most sophisticated dinner party. The quality of *Silence* lies entirely in its subtlety and accuracy. In the end, the man does open his mouth to make an inconsequential remark about Byzantine art and the others pretend, of course, that his silence has never happened. Everything is normal again.

The structure of the other short play, *The Lie*, is similar, almost a conversational game about truth, centred on the way trendy socialists can try to give themselves a working-class image. Nathalie Sarraute's games do not, like those of Edward Albee in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, attack the nasty emotional betrayals of a closely linked couple. They are less intensely personal, and more social and political; but they are just as savage. These two plays have all the consistent wit and economy which Obaldia and Dubillard lack.

Figures of fun

PETER RUHMKORF: *Was heisst hier Volsini?* 143pp. Hamburg: Rowohlt. DM 9.80.

Peter Rühmkorf, now forty, has written little and published even less: three volumes of poetry, a biography of Wolfgang Borchert, a study of the borderland between folklore and *kitsch*, and a certain amount of highly regarded literary criticism. *Volsini* is his first play. Its theme is important. During the wars of the third century B.C. the landlords and magnates of Etruria called in Roman troops to defend themselves against their own slaves. In Volsini, an Etruscan town, proletarians and slaves banded together and wrested the power from their own patricians. But the regime fell apart and the Romans stayed to conquer.

This might have made a great Brechtian play. Rühmkorf copies a good many of Brecht's stage tricks, but the very qualities that gave strength to Rühmkorf's other writings—his humour, his knack for parody, his hatred of pomp and fraud—serve here to negate the Brechtian formula. Where Brecht's use of eighteenth-century verse patterns retained their strength while making us see their fraudulence, Rühmkorf kids his characters, their language and even his stage-sets so consistently that he destroys his purpose: instead of making us see the dialectics of his fable, he turns his characters into ninnies. Friends and enemies alike are treated as figures of fun; but since they are without weight, we cannot even laugh at them. The play, in short, lacks substance. On both sides of the barricades we are faced with men and women who have no stage presence. Any piece of dialogue could be lifted from any speaker and given to any other one. Since the spectator cannot make out who is who, he gets bored.

The net of parody strangles the action: if one had not read Rühmkorf's blurb, one could not even have made out what the play was meant to be about. A good writer has harnessed his strength to the wrong cart and landed in the ditch.

Clothes-consciousness

WITOLD GOMBROWICZ: *Opérette.* 144pp. Paris: Denöel. 15.60fr.

The Polish original of *Opérette* was published in Paris in 1966, this French version in the summer of 1969, a few weeks only before Witold Gombrowicz's death. Since it *is* an operetta, the title puts it into that currently smart class of universalized particulars, along with the dogs that are called "Dog" and the tins whose labels say "Tin". In a preface Gombrowicz gives his reasons for so admiring the operetta form: its "divine idiocy", its "heavenly sclerosis", and the fact that it is "perfectly theatrical". *Opérette* is therefore the boisterous paraphrase of an ideal operetta, but with some philosophy added, since Gombrowicz uses it to make his point about the "douleur dérisoire" of the human condition.

The theme is one common to a great deal of what he wrote: the opposition between the naked and the clothed. Gombrowicz himself was on the side of nudity, a figurative nudity at any rate which undermines the caution and inhibitions of society. In *Opérette* he puts weight behind these anti-social hopes by historicizing them.

Act One is very much pre-1914, and introduces two competitive, over-dressed rakes and a corps of grumbling lackeys; the spirit of the age is invoked in lines of a splendid Edwardian shorthand: "Cambridge, Orient Express, Veuve Clicquot, Ritz et Carlton", runs one self-sufficient speech. The Count Agénor, currently one girl ahead in the race to outseduce his rival, fancies the village girl Albertinette, but his lust is hampered by his social conformism. His scheme to get himself introduced to her misfires and instead plunges her into a catatonic state in which she dreams only of being naked. Since the Count's technique depends on investiture rather than divestiture the incompatibility between them is total.

Act Two is more clothes-conscious still, with a bizarre fashion parade organized by Maître Flor, the dictator who determines what the world is going to wear. But the Revolution is on its way, with the connivance of the weather—mentions of nudity get the backing of lightning-flashes and high winds. Communist agitators are at work in *Opérette* too—a sacked valet called Hufnagel and his mentor, the Professor, always on the point of vomiting and surely owing something to the ideas of Jean-Paul Sartre. But when the apocalypse comes it is Gombrowicz's not Marx's, and at its climax the characters pile their false masks and disguises into a coffin out of which rises the toothsome Albertinette, awake again and naked.

Opérette is a dynamic fable even if a little trying to read, since Gombrowicz has, quite properly, relied heavily on the refrains and repetitions of the operetta form. Given the right music it would make a riotous and sympathetic spectacle.

View from the stalls

GRIGORI N. BOYADZHIEV: *Ot Sofokla do Brekhta za sorok teatralnykh vecherov.* 352pp. Moscow: Prosveshcheniye. 1r. 35 kops.

With vision fashionable, it is unusual to meet somebody who still attempts to do everything with words. G. N. Boyadzhiev took up the idea of a book which would make the reader feel himself sitting in succeeding theatre seats watching one after the other forty plays which the author himself, as an historian of Western European theatre, has attended or—with one seldom performed—imagined in every detail of production. The realization is effective, and both author and publisher deserve applause for risking an experiment.

For our First Night we see the Greek Piraeus Company perform Sophocles's *Electra*; our eleventh evening is Olivier's *Othello* at the Old Vic in 1964, our twenty-first raises its curtain to a drum-beat preluding Hugo's *Mary Tudor*, and so on to a Brecht finale. We see and hear very well and our author suspends the performance whenever he wants to comment on acting or decor. The total feeling of the book is something like a companion to the theatre, with analyses of dramatic ideas and details of plot and character, but without the jarring division of subjects into alphabetical disorder.

Perhaps the best of the "Evenings" bring to life Italian Renaissance and French classical drama, on which the the author has already published material.

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Commentary

It will surprise few that the number of books published in Britain last year, as recorded in the *Bookseller*, rose once more; for they have been rising relentlessly for the whole of the past decade. The count for 1969 was 23,207 new books and 9,106 reprints and new editions; a total of 32,393 or 973 more than in 1968. Since 1959—a year affected by a printers' strike—when the total output was 20,690 titles, issues have risen by 57 per cent, or about 1,200 a year.

However, it would be inaccurate to draw certain plausible conclusions from these figures. Undoubtedly British publishing has expanded during the past ten years, but the increase in output to some extent represents the international trend of publishing today and particularly the infiltration of American publishing into this country. There is no real evidence that the growth of American control and financial interest in British publishing houses has led in itself to an increase in the number of actual American titles issued here; even though one important reason for this interest is to secure access to what used to be known as the British Empire Market, for the most part still firmly held by British houses for books issued under their own imprints.

The main cause of the big rise in the number of titles is the growth of British branches of American firms and of their book distribution, often thinly spread quantitively, but prolific in terms of titles. This applies particularly to academic and technical works, for which there is a definite if limited demand in this country.

The breakdown of the numbers of books issued in 1969 demonstrates this: the biggest increase was in the category of Political Science, a swelling class which added a further 451 to make a total of 2,441 works, new and re-issued. It is now the third most important category of books issued in Britain, with a mere fifteen titles fewer than Children's Books, which, in turn, have always taken second place to Fiction. This is plainly absurd, for there can be no doubt that children's book publishing is numerically a far more important sector of British publishing than the study of politics, and the latter's totals are certainly enlarged by American imports. The same probably applies to Engineering, which jumped last year by 146 to a total of 1,045, and Commerce which rose 125 to 838. Ten years ago when American titles were less prominent here, the slightly differently categorized Politics and Trade, Commerce and Industry accounted for only 726 and 531 titles respectively, while Engineering amounted to 588.

Though no separate figures are yet available for the number of imported American titles, as opposed to American books issued under a British imprint, they may well be responsible for four or five thousand works. Moreover, to secure a fair statistical picture of the output of commercial British publishers, a further deduction must be made of the eleven to twelve hundred titles issued by Her Majesty's Stationery Office and included in last year's count.

All the same, most people would agree that there are at least enough of our home-grown book products, even if their distribution leaves a good deal to be desired. Last year, the most buoyant category after Engineering was Children's Books, which showed an increase of 292 new books to a total of 1,987. However, this was the first year of recovery since 1963 when a record total of 2,270 new juvenile books were issued. This was followed by five years of decline, owing to over-production. In 1969, Fiction, too, showed an apparent rise of 90 titles to a total of 4,405, but this masked a decline (for the third year running) in new novels, which last year totalled only 2,251—compared with 2,470 in 1966, the record post-war year, and as many as 2,052 far back in 1937. Reprint fiction again rose last year by 151 issues to 2,154, the largest number for many years.

Otherwise, were it not for the rise in the academic and technical classes already noted — to which must be added an increase of 81 (making a total of 911) in the steadily enlarging category of Education—most of the more prolific types of book showed a decline in 1969. There were fewer books published on Art (911 39), Biography (850 52), Religion (1,163 172, the biggest drop of the year), School Text Books (1,821 68), History (1,555 92), and Literature (1,128 113). However, it is fair to record that History and Literature have been among the most buoyant classes of book in the past five years, and last year's decline in each case was considerably less than the previous twelve months' rise.

One of the encouraging features of British publishing in the second half of the past decade has been a recovery in the number of reprints and new editions. Before the war they represented just over one-third of all titles published, but in 1959 the total was scarcely more than pre-war, as against a rising number of new works. The number continued to fall until 1964, when the 5,260 titles listed represented only 20 per cent of total title production. Since 1965 there has been a 'marked continuing recovery and last year's total of 9,106 just exceeds 28 per cent of the total output. For this, no doubt, we have to thank paperbacks and the increasing number of photo-reproduction reprints, some issued in editions of only two or three hundred copies.

* * *

To judge from the latest *Paperbacks in Print*, issued by Whitakers, the expansion of paperback publishing also has been remarkable. Last year there were 37,351 titles in print from 951 publishers, compared with 31,318 from 823 publishers in mid-1968. Probably the increase to some extent reflects more efficient recording, but the trend is unmistakable; and this year one of the deficiencies of British publishing statistics may be made good. Unlike the United States, there are no reliable figures regarding the number of paperback titles issued. Indeed to determine what is or is not a paperback edition is less easy than might appear; for example, a pamphlet is technically not a paperback. However, Whitakers are putting their records on a computer as from today, so that in future it will be possible to produce separate paperback totals in all categories.

A further refinement, implied already in comments above, would be a separation of editions imported from America, and indeed from all other overseas countries, sold under the original imprint. Not only would this give a better picture of British output; it might also correct an impression prevalent in some quarters and recently voiced by librarians that British book prices have risen inordinately in the past two or three years. That they have risen there is no arguing about, and to some extent they have corrected a tendency over many years towards under-pricing. Yet the basis of charges of over-pricing are commonly founded on statistics of the average prices of books compiled by Whitakers and librarians. The former's figures for the first half of last year showed an average price of new books as £2 1s. 9d.; but this included a two-volume American work issued here at £110, and a 200-copy edition of Ben Nicholson's work published at £105. As the average price of new editions issued in the same period was £2 7s. 5d.—that is even higher than for new books—it is clear that neither these figures nor those for genuinely British book output can yet be taken uncritically.

* * *

A joint statement has been issued from its Rome headquarters by the President and General Secretary of the Community of European Writers (C.O.M.E.S.) Giuseppe Ungaretti and Giancarlo Vigorelli respectively. This international society, whose main distinguishing feature is that it includes writers from the Soviet block, was founded in 1959. The statement points out that the Community has denounced the persecution of Russian writers and intellectuals in the past but has found that its protestations have been vain if not positively harmful to the causes of Sinyavsky, Daniel, Ginzburg and others. Hence the delay in denouncing the present persecution of Solzhenitsyn.

After the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia C.O.M.E.S. called its international activities to a virtual standstill, out of solidarity with the Czechoslovak writers. Recently, however, so as not to throw away some ten years of work, it has made a cautious attempt to reexamine the situation in concert with Czechoslovak and other authors. The expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Writers' Union has now rendered remote and perhaps also impossible any further collaboration with the Soviet Writers' Union. None the less the Community pays tribute to the more than 300 Soviet writers who refused to adopt the shameful attitudes of Sholokhov.

C.O.M.E.S. is now making one final appeal for Solzhenitsyn even though it is well aware that its enforced inaction due to his persecution will have been in vain and that "the various bureaucrats of the Soviet Union will increase their accusations against Solzhenitsyn in the measure in which our total solidarity with him, his work and the example of his courage is deep, heartfelt and desperate". Though the Community still hopes that the Czech resistance will serve as an example to others elsewhere, the extension of Stalinism in the Soviet Union means that there is little hope of resuming any dialogue between Western and Soviet participants which would not be an insult to writers.

C.O.M.E.S. still nominally has some thousand members not only in the Western democracies but also in Russia, the Iberian peninsula and Greece. About a year ago it appealed for special encouragement for writers in Yugoslavia, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, and it has not lost hope that doors may remain open with other socialist countries and with those Soviet writers who have dissociated themselves from the guilty manoeuvres of the official apparatus of the Soviet Writers' Union. If its appeal on Solzhenitsyn's behalf now fails, C.O.M.E.S. will be obliged, however reluctantly, to suspend any further collaboration.

* * *

Education Authorities concerned about making good the likely absence in the New Year of a fair number of their teachers have been thrown a promising lifeline by the Arts Council. In reinforcement of its earlier apostolic scheme, Writers on Tour (Adrian Henri's account of what it was like to be a writer on tour appeared in the *TLS* on April 10, 1969), the Council's Literature Panel has now drawn up a list of 126 writers prepared to visit secondary schools, colleges of further education and courses for serving teachers. The panel of missionaries is an imposing one, and the poets and playwrights on it should be bucked to find themselves distinguished from mere prose writers by an asterisk.

The writers who actually get an invitation to chat up the children will do quite well out of it. "Most writers", says the Department of Education and Science's handout, "have expressed their willingness to undertake visits on the basis of a fee of £15 for a visit on one day to a single institution", and "have been assured that they will receive reasonable subsistence and travelling expenses" no dry school lunches for them. A few writers, on the other hand, "have reserved their right to negotiate a higher fee", and it is coy of the handout not to have identified these aristocrats by some other symbol: perhaps a dagger would have been the thing.

It is an admirable idea for schoolchildren and student teachers to meet the local or itinerant literati, but is it possible that the timing of the Department of Education and Science's announcement is a bit tactless? Offer them £15 a day plus expenses, and most teachers would be happy to be back at work, visitors or no visitors.

My Life and Times

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Lou Salomé with Nietzsche (right) and Paul Rée in Lucerne, 1882.

A woman with drive

RUDOLPH BINION: *Frau Lou.* Nietzsche's Wayward Disciple. 587pp. Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. £7 2s. 6d.

LOU ANDREAS-SALOMÉ is the nearest equivalent to the redoubtable blue-stockings of an earlier generation—George Sand, Madame de Staël, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Catherine Macaulay—who combined intellectual with erotic eagerness in fluctuating proportions. She lived a full life in both domains and she left revealing material for her biographers, not only in her diary, letters and journals, but also in thinly disguised autobiographic stories and essays.

Her extraordinary capacity for forming an intimate relationship with men of note has been the outstanding feature of her career, but until Professor Binion made an extremely detailed study of the evidence, the stormy course of her affair with Nietzsche and the ultimate bitterness of her liaison with Rilke were not fully recognized. There was no overt sexual element in her attachment to Freud, whose role was that of a trusted father, but it is doubtful whether, himself austere in sexual mores, he knew of her sustained exploits in "serial polyandry".

Her capacity for evoking passionate liking and unrestrained praise was exceptional. Nietzsche described her as the most intelligent of all women, a little genius, by far the cleverest person he had ever met. Biedermann said she gave him "the heart-winning impression of being pure to the innermost core". Freud wrote of her "incredible subtlety of understanding" and, though he was by no means over-inclined to admire and praise his fellow creatures, he acclaimed her "Mein Dank an Freud" as "an unintentional proof of your superiority over us all, as befits the heights from which you came down to us". In a similar vein he declared in an obituary notice that

> we all felt it an honour when she joined the ranks of our colleagues, and regarded it as a new guarantee of the truth of our psycho-analytical doctrines. She was a woman of unusual modesty and discretion. She never spoke of her own poetic and literary productions. She knew where to look for the real values in life. Those who were close to her got the strongest impression of her genuineness and essential harmony, and were amazed to find that all feminine weaknesses—and perhaps most human weaknesses—were alien to her character or had been overcome in the course of her life.

It is not entirely a matter of personal charm or seductive attraction; even Professor Binion, who never knew her, goes beyond the bounds of exaggerated praise pardonable in a biographer. "She was to theorize with passion, continually and sublimely: in the whole history of thought there are few men and no women to match her on these counts." She was, he assures us, captivating beyond compare; her sex-appeal was that of a vestal virgin combined with a she-Narcissus; she unsettled record numbers of both sexes and all ages; she was cerebral, bewitching and heartless.

To set against all this hyperbole is the rank invective which was levelled at her by some of her former worshippers; very few were as unwavering in admiration as Freud. Bitterest of all was Nietzsche (egged on by his sister, who regarded Lou as a poisonous reptile). He had pinned great hopes on her as a successor and apostle and he believed there was no erotic element in the love and trust he gave her; when it turned out otherwise and he saw through his sister's eyes, Lou's unworthiness of her high destiny, the revelation was explosive.

He reproached her with being "poor in respect, in gratitude, in piety, in courtesy, in admiration, shame—not to speak of higher things": she gave free rein to everything contemptible in herself, he declared, turning her impulses into the "predatory pleasure-lust of a cat". He called her a gallows-bird, a monkey unworthy to lick the soles of his shoes. This savage abuse was not a psychotic symptom of his mental disorder; that was to come some years later. Nor was it out of keeping with what other men came to see in her—for example Rohde, who denounced her as a literary parasite.

Her relationship with Nietzsche was frustrating for her, bitterly disillusioning for him. He had looked for a disciple fit to be his philosophical heiress, and he found an irreverent hysteric who "used wily devices to rule, oppress, tyrannize". There is a photograph (shown above) taken in Lucerne of Nietzsche and his friend Rée (likewise very close to Lou at that time) pulling the shafts of a cart, with her riding in it triumphant, whip in hand. But Nietzsche never fell overtly in love with her, as she wished. His final comment was generous:

> She is and remains for me a being of the first rank, about whom it is a pity forever. Given her energy of will and originality of mind, she was headed for something great; given her practical morality, though, she may well belong rather in a penitentiary or a madhouse. I miss her, for all her bad qualities: we were disparate enough for something useful to have been always sure to come out of our talks: I have found no one so unprejudiced, so clever, so well prepared for my sort of problems.

The roll-call of Lou Andreas-Salomé's suitors and lovers is lengthy, before and after her marriage. At times merging into it is the list of eminent men—Schnitzler, Wedekind, Harden, Leonid Pasternak, Buber, Werner Sombart, Keyserling, Gerhart Hauptmann, Gorky, Reinhardt and many more—who were friends or acquaintances; Walter Kaufmann rightly says in his foreword that this amazing array of writers and scholars amounts to a "Who Was Who" of Central European intellectual life during half a century. Her lovers were, in Professor Binion's view, brother-surrogates in "an amorous routine, involving an almost rhythmic turnover of lovers young enough to have been her sons". The process seems to have begun in 1894 and continued for some twenty years. It was closely interwoven with her profuse writings, especially those on the nature of erotism; of the most ambitious of these Buber wrote that it was "a fundamental, pure, powerful piece of work". But besides her avid search for intellectual attachments she made a determined pursuit of famous men, even if they showed themselves averse to being visited or addressed. The farcical encounter with Tolstoy is the most unequivocal instance of this.

She first met Rilke in 1897: he was then twenty-one, she was thirty-six. Within a fortnight she had become his mistress. The liaison lasted four years. In February, 1901, Lou wrote him a final letter dwelling on his psychiatric needs and declaring that she too had been warped and tormented by the lessening warmth of the association: they must part. There can be no doubt that to the end of his life Rilke regarded her as an exceptionally gifted woman, and that for a time he loved her passionately. What she felt is, as always with her, impossible to infer with any confidence from the turgid outpourings in her letters and romans à clef. She influenced his poetry, but not in the way she supposed.

In the background of her turbulent life her husband wandered along, complaisant and ineffectual. She had married him in 1887: the choice was characteristic of her pervading ambivalence. F. C. Andreas, a philologist who had spent years in Persia as epigrapher and archaeologist, was eccentric in habits, moody, and much interested in Zarathustra—another roundabout link between him and Nietzsche. Lou and he became engaged when he was forty-two and she twenty-five. They married the following year but the marriage, because of some psychological disability, was never consummated. The oddly assorted couple led a fairly calm domestic existence (especially after his appointment to a chair at Göttingen) in spite of her many journeys and love affairs.

After they had been married nearly twenty years their housemaid gave birth to a child, of which Andreas was the father: Lou was at first indignant but gradually warmed to this step-child and took to signing her letters to Andreas "Mummele". After Andreas's death in 1930 she wrote to Freud about the Darby and Joan relationship that had developed between them.

> As my husband talked to me day by day at the set visiting time from the armchair by my bedside we two old people noticed how much we had to tell each other, for which we had really never found the time.

Lou's approach to Freud and the ensuing close friendship has been often described. Decorous and serene, it betrayed none of the psychopathic features so common in the earlier course of her life. There was mutual respect and steady affection. A stormier prelude to her entry into the Vienna psychoanalytical circle was centred on her affairs with Bjerre—fifteen years her junior—and von Gebsattel; and there was a brief association with Tausk (who later committed suicide).

Her psychoanalytical career was as irregular as her private life. She was never analysed—unless her efforts to recall her childhood can be reckoned as an effective self-analysis. She began treating patients in 1913 but did not disclose this to Freud until 1917. He evidently voiced no objection and helped her analytic practice by his advice and encouragement; he referred patients to her, and gladly entrusted his daughter Anna to her influence and guidance. The rigorous demands of the obligatory training analysis were far off in those days, and certainly not required of her. Almost from the beginning of her attendance at Freud's Wednesday evening discussions she was accorded the privileges of a full member of the little group of close adherents. When she did not occupy her accustomed chair at the seminar, Freud felt uneasy and distrait. His opinion of her contributions to analytic theory is hard to judge; extravagant praise alternated with brief non-committal replies to her lengthy speculative missives. He once said to her that she regarded psychoanalysis as a sort of Christmas present; but in a more serious vein he wrote to her: "Could we only magnify in a plastic way what you have sketched with your fine brush, we should perhaps be able to grasp the final truths."

Professor Binion gives many signs of belonging to the distinguished band of those whom Lou Andreas-Salomé captivated and repelled: he dotes on her while indicting her for hysterically falsifying events and tormenting her victims. In his summing-up he calls her a moral monster with redeeming features, a distraught fabler. But he has obviously devoted many years to an interminable labour of love:

> As I wrote it, new lines of inquiry kept opening up, leading to new factual or interpretive discoveries . . . I am leaving the text discontinuous and inconsistent just so as to underscore its inconclusiveness.

The reader is not infected by the biographer's devotion to this peculiar woman; there are too many trivial facts, too much determined and unconvincing interpretation. A grave footnote, for example, tells us where a retouched photograph can be seen in which she has obliterated the fringe across her forehead. In her brutal rupture of relations with her lovers, as Professor Binion construes it, "that final most compulsive moment of her rites of incest with a God in disguise corresponded to the hysterical recoil climaxing her former flirtations with her father-gods . . . reenacting a mythic castration". A "flabbergastic exactitude", such as he acknowledges in one of his informants, is characteristic of his own concern for historical details: the weight of it is overwhelming, interlaced as it constantly is with reformulation of Lou's novels, treated as veiled autobiography.

As with his psychoanalytical comments, he states literary hints and parallels with such confidence that it is easy for the reader to confuse facts with assumptions. Professor Binion's style is occasionally apostrophic ("But enough! I cried—the louder since numberless other points rated priority anyhow on my probing schedule") as well as soggy-turgid:

> Freud was precisely not a good rationalist. Part of his genius was the brass to perpetrate conceptual atrocities with equanimity right and left of his main line of enquiry, which was then leading to that apotheosis of the scientific ideal: discounting subjectivity as extraneous to even the inner life.

Enormous labour has been put into this definitive study of a wayward blue-stocking, a blend so to speak of Egeria, Circe and Madame Blavatsky. It is ungrateful to dwell on the defects of such a conscientious, detailed and erudite biography. For psychoanalysts, who want to understand why Freud — and Nietzsche — thought so highly of this gifted but erratic amateur, it has absorbing interest.

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Oxford University Press

To the Editor

'Quisling'

Sir,- Allow me to hark back to your review of my book *Quisling—Prophet without Honour* on April 15, 1965, and to the correspondence the following month (Messrs. Skodvin, Riste and Andenaes), also to the feature article on the same subject by Magne Skodvin, Professor of European History, Oslo University, in *The Times* on August 11, 1965.

This is a matter of more than passing, local interest. The word "quisling" stands in dictionaries as the eponymous substitute for "traitor" or "fifth columnist" and is repeatedly used as such in the world press vis-à-vis current events, e.g. Rhodesia and Czechoslovakia. Also, Quisling's alleged "treason" in April, 1940, is commonly used as an explanation for the Norwegian and Allied disasters in that month—notably by Winston Churchill, who was then Chairman of the Cabinet's Military Co-ordination Committee and thus mainly responsible for the failure of the Allied Intervention (see *The Gathering Storm*). Paradoxically, Churchill became Prime Minister as a sequel of the fiasco and Quisling, who had preached Norwegian rearmament and preparedness for ten years, was executed.

But, as the *TLS* review stated: "What Mr. Hewins has done is to establish that Quisling was not a simple villain but a complex riddle. That is a work of rectification which needed doing, even if he has not yet solved the riddle." Well, the riddle is now nearer solution than it was five years ago. Hence my present demands on your space.

The comparatively favourable reception accorded to my thesis in the *TLS* and elsewhere at home and abroad produced a Norwegian reaction comparable to the Dreyfus case. The Government sponsored the book *Norway and the Second World War* (Skodvin, Riste and Andenaes) in 1966, specifically aimed against my work. Three fresh studies of Vidkun Quisling appeared (B. Vogt in 1965, and Rieber-Mohn and Langfeldt in 1969). A lawsuit this spring, concerning the Norwegian edition of my book, lasted longer than the 1945 Quisling Case and produced so much new historical evidence that it aroused "enormous public interest", as *Aftenposten*'s 1970 almanac says. Moreover, two rival historical institutes have recently been formed in Oslo to reassess the evidence and their publications are already appearing. All that to the accompaniment of a massive non-stop controversy in the Norwegian mass-media.

Now that the Second World War history is being rewritten by such authorities as Sir Basil Liddell Hart, Mr. Martin Gilbert and the Imperial War Museum (Purnell Ltd.), I suggest that recent Norwegian revelations should be thoroughly and comprehensively studied in Britain and elsewhere before more wartime propaganda creeps into the world's standard histories.

Note:

1. Mr. Nils Hjelmtveit, a leading Minister in the disastrous Norwegian Labour Government in April, 1940, has at last published his war diary, saying (a) "Like Quisling, the population did not know that a German invasion was happening", and (b) "The mobilization order was never sent out" and "the proposal does not seem to have reached the right address". (*Arbeiderbladet*, October 18, 1969.)

2. Professor Skodvin, the official Norwegian war historian, now says: "The Germans did not plan to operate with fifth columnists in Norway. . . . When the general (the Germans' infantry commander, Major-General Erwin Engelbrecht) came safely ashore (from the sunken flagship Blücher) and bobbed up in Oslo, he knew absolutely nothing about the name Vidkun Quisling". (*Aftenposten*, November 12, 1969).

In short, Quisling did *not* collaborate with the Wehrmacht: there was no general mobilization order for him to sabotage when he tried to stop the unorganized, suicidal fighting on the evening of April 9, 1940; neither he nor his supporters contributed in any way to the success of the invasion; nor was Quisling a traitor on April 9 when he was saddled with his unenviable reputation.

The word "quisling" should be removed from the dictionaries of the world and from future columns of the world press. For this advance in historical rectification I largely thank the *TLS*. Historians, please note. The story of the Norwegian Campaign and Churchill's arrival in the highest office both need rewriting.

RALPH HEWINS.

Oslo.

'Women in Love'

Sir,—There is no factual evidence that suggests any substantial modification by D. H. Lawrence to the final draft of *Women in Love* after he completed it "save the last chapter" by November 7, 1916 (*Coll. Let.* 482). But the short paragraph of that last chapter, in which he quotes the Kaiser's disclaimer of responsibility for the war, might very easily have been added as an afterthought, possibly on proof: its omission from the chapter leaves the context intact; if Lawrence did add it in 1920, as Anthony Comerford suggests in his letter (*TLS*, December 11), he overlooked the fact that this reference was wholly anachronistic. Ursula is 26 when the novel opens, and in *The Rainbow* she is at College during the Boer War, which places *Women in Love* in 1911 or 1912, in the years immedfately preceding the moment of its initial conception.

Is it necessary to suppose that this sentence was added *after* the war? Surely the British press must have reported the Kaiser's famous saying; moreover Lawrence was receiving intermittently German newspapers, and regularly letters from Frieda's family. Frieda's younger sister Johanna was the wife of an A.D.C. to the Kronprinz and might have privately conveyed the news of a statement not unhelpful to German propaganda on war-guilt. But whenever introduced into the novel, the sentence remains an anachronism.

Mr. Comerford however does raise an important question: is there any literary justification for treating *Women in Love* as a postwar novel? Even Mr. Cyril Connolly falls into this trap (*Sunday Times*, December 7, 1969). The memory of Lawrence as a real innovator in the English novel is enhanced if one remembers that he conceived the main outline of events, and the treatment of character, in the double novel *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, before the war, over a period which extends from December, 1912, to the summer of 1914; and that the bulk of the two novels was written before the outbreak of war. Of course details were added to *The Rainbow*, and even whole chapters and incidents to *Women in Love*, in the course of final re-writing in 1915 and 1916 respectively, but both theme and method were determined by 1914. The accidents of the suppression of the first novel and delayed publication of the second have often made critics lose sight of their literary originality at the time they were written.

As for the analysis in *Women in Love* of the problems of the mining industry—as far as it goes—does it really add anything, except for the normal process of artistic expansion and translation into action and character, to the denunciations of mechanization contained in the paragraphs of *Twilight in Italy* added to the earlier essays at the end of 1915, or to the letter (*Coll. Let.* 404) of December 1915 written when Lawrence last saw his mining villages before he rewrote *Women in Love*?

It is one thing for an actor to try to interpret the role of Gerald Crich in the light of the postwar problems of coal-mining; it is another to ascertain the facts of literary creation as they relate to the history of the novel. In *Women in Love* one discerns the strata and sediment of Lawrence's intimate experience over the years: for instance Hermione was modelled on Jessie Chambers before she acquired the mannerisms and surroundings of Lady Ottoline Morrell, and some of Katherine Mansfield's features were "grafted" in the character of Gudrun on to those of one of the Burrows sisters, etc.

In this highly complex novel, the unity is to be found in the poetic vision, not in the realist observation from which it springs. It is a prophetic vision of an "end of the world" (*Coll. Let.* 482), which contains "the results in one's soul of the war" (Ib. 519). Prophecy sometimes seems in retrospect to have come true; sometimes it sounds rather nonsensical, the systematic search for symbolic meaning, for an all-embracing vision, leading sometimes to greatness, sometimes to absurdity. Lawrence's disregard for internal consistency, as exemplified by the detail to which Mr. Comerford has drawn attention, is one of the signs of this transition from naturalism to symbolism which both places him in the Edwardian tradition and makes him—when *Women in Love* is correctly dated to 1914-1916—one of the forerunners of the modern novel.

EMILE DELAVENAY.

Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines, Université de Nice.

Sir,—The query raised by Mr. Anthony Comerford (December 11) is an interesting one, but I think there can be no doubt that the period of *Women in Love* is set before 1914.

At the beginning of chapter seventeen, Gudrun "had a scheme for going to St. Petersburg, where she had a friend who was a sculptor like herself, and who lived with a wealthy Russian whose hobby was jewel-making". This could not refer to the period 1918-21. Nor could it be during 1914-18, as Gudrun also wrote to a friend in Munich, asking about rooms.

The reference to the Kaiser's "Ich habe es nicht gewollt", though a curious slip for Lawrence to make when writing about a period before the war, may perhaps be explained by Frieda, who was German by birth, having heard of the Kaiser's words through some private source. *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* should be taken together for the purposes of chronology.

In *The Rainbow* (page 330, Penguin edition) "war was declared on the Boers" on page 333. Skrebensky goes to South Africa the following March, i.e., 1900. On page 443/4, "when Ursula was 22", Skrebensky says they hadn't met for six years; the year is therefore 1906.

In *Women in Love* Ursula and Gudrun's ages are given at the beginning as twenty-six and twenty-five, and the story continues into the following year, the period is then 1910-11. In 1911 Italy was at war in Tripoli, and this is discussed by Gerald and Loerke. In 1911 also, there was great industrial strife in England. The coal industry's problems as presented in *Women in Love* are all explicable in the setting of 1910-11.

A. H. LEWIS.

6 Belgrave Road, Birkdale, Southport, Lancashire.

Sir,—It is good to see that J. C. Maxwell (December 4) and others can offer us such minor discrepancies in the text of Conrad as a comma becoming a full-stop in some editions. Lucky Conrad. Those interested in the text of D. H. Lawrence's two major novels will know that the Heinemann *Phoenix* editions (the only hardbacks available) offer cut, careless and damaged texts throughout. If we only had commas and full-stops to worry about we would count ourselves fortunate; we have to put up with missing paragraphs and numerous misprints in *The Rainbow*, and inconsistent corrections made by Lawrence against his will for a hasty second edition of *Women in Love*. And misprints. Is it fair to saddle us with the effects of an obscenity charge made in 1915, a threatened libel suit in 1921, and textual carelessness all along the line? It would be interesting to hear the publisher's justification for perpetuating these texts.

T. J. WORTHEN.

Department of English, University of Edinburgh.

'John Keats's Dream of Truth'

Sir,—In his generous account (December 18) of my Keats book your reviewer says H. W. Garrod "changed" the line "The feel of not to feel it". But Garrod changed nothing. He preferred the reading "To know the change and feel it" which I maintain is inferior but which nevertheless is the reading of one manuscript and of our earliest printed texts. Most anthologists—Palgrave and Q among them—agree with Garrod. So do other distinguished editors: Buxton Forman, de Selincourt, Edmund Blunden, Middleton Murry is an exception, and a notable one, though his italicized "feel of *not* to feel it" has no warrant.

JOHN JONES.

Merton College, Oxford.

'Bernard Shaw: A Reassessment'

Sir,—In my letter regarding my book on Shaw (December 11) I mentioned that the bibliography (of which I hold the carbon) had been left out by my publishers. Messrs. Hutchinson have written to tell me that they have no record of its ever having arrived there, and so I hasten to withdraw my comment. It was obviously mislaid at some point in the complicated to-and-froing of the typescript.

COLIN WILSON.

Tetherdown, Gorran Haven, Cornwall.

Sir,—Although the letters (December 18) protesting against your review of Colin Wilson's new book on Bernard Shaw are signed with two different names, their extraordinary similarity of style, even down to the split infinitives, suggests that they could have been written by the same chap. Surely Christopher Hibbs is not a pseudonym of Colin Wilson, or vice versa?

B. A. YOUNG.

Garrick Club, London, W.C.2.

Beppe Fenoglio

Sir,—Readers of your article (December 18) on Beppe Fenoglio, the Italian "Partisan and Writer" may be interested to know we are publishing one of the stories from *I ventitrè giorni della città di Alba* in our March issue.

ALAN ROSS.

The London Magazine, 30 Thurloe Place, London, S.W.7.

Thomas Hope

Sir,—Certainly Sir Nikolaus Pevsner knew of Baumgarten's book on Thomas Hope, since it was he who first drew my attention to it. Your reviewer (December 18) observes that he had not noticed the reference to the book in my bibliography. He must also have overlooked the long note on page 264 of my book which reads:

> Our knowledge of Hope was enormously enlarged by Sandor Baumgarten in his *Le Crépuscule Néo-Classique: Thomas Hope*, Paris, 1958. Although it is useful for suggesting sources it is extremely irritating to use through the presence of over one hundred and fifty minor errors, inaccurate or misspelt footnotes, and so on. Baumgarten's interest in Hope was as a literary and social figure and, above all, as the author of *Anastasius*. To these aspects of his career Baumgarten devotes two-thirds of his text. . . .

D. J. WATKIN.

The Athenaeum, Pall Mall, London, S.W.1.

The Common Market in genes

JOHN GEIPEL: *The Europeans*. 292pp. Longmans. £3.

Many people pride themselves on their ability to guess a stranger's nationality from his physical appearance; the "tall, blonde Scandinavian" and the "slight, dark Latin", for instance, are archetypal figures firmly ingrained in our habits of thought. Not surprisingly, few of us appreciate the vast range of variation present within a single population, or realize how much overlap of physical traits occurs between different populations. It is with the origins of such diversity and its relevance to our concept of "race" that John Geipel's *The Europeans* is concerned. This field obviously has an almost universal appeal. The book is divided into six sections, in which the author surveys fossil, archaeological, linguistic and physical evidence in the light of population genetics, showing how past migrations have given rise to the complex interrelationships of the present-day Europeans.

The first section deals with the human fossil and archaeological record. This gives a picture of the peopling of Europe in prehistoric times, demonstrating the existence of variation within groups of man as far back as the Mesolithic, and stressing the early involvement of migrations in the Palaeo and Mesolithic in addition to the large-scale Neolithic migrations from the farming centres of the Tigris and Euphrates. Clearly even for primitive man the idea of discrete racial groups is untenable.

There follows an interesting survey of past movements and contacts between populations as suggested by a study of the European languages. Most are Indo-European in type, spreading from a Russian focus to Europe through Neolithic and later migrations. Intermixture resulting from internal European movements occurred, so "there are no more 'pure' languages than there are 'pure' races". However, the author points out their limitations as anthropological markers, for although useful in tracing population contacts and movements, they can give no indication of the extent, if any, of genetic exchange:

> Thus, although the influence of Norman French on English has been profound and enduring, the adoption of French words by the English was a purely socio-cultural affair; the Normans themselves, who, at the most, numbered only a few thousand, can hardly have made much difference to the long-established ethnic fabric of the English nation.

"Some physical traits and their distribution in Europe" forms a disappointingly thin and unbalanced section. The "classical" anthropological parameters of stature, head shape and pigmentation are well discussed. However, with the exception of the blood groups, those characters which have a relatively simple mode of inheritance—and are therefore of greatest importance to the modern physical anthropologist—are given only scant mention. A truer picture of the areas of contemporary interest would be achieved by a fuller treatment of these biochemical variations. The fourth section gives a country-by-country survey of the living Europeans, collating the main facts that emerge from previous sections to show what is known of the origins and interrelationships of populations that today are distinguished by national boundaries.

Mr. Geipel finally reviews the major attempts during the past two hundred years to construct a racial classification of the Europeans. He rightly criticizes schemes that divide man into immutable, water-tight racial compartments, but overstates the issue by denying the meaningfulness of race: "The inventing and isolating of human 'races' is, although an amusing pastime, of no further service to physical anthropology." However, early in the book, populations are described as "intergrading with and spilling into one another, sections of which, at a given moment of time, are found to display a number of hereditary features not necessarily so typical of other sections with which they are compared". This, when one considers the current genetical definition of race (races are defined as "populations which differ in gene frequency", see G. A. Harrison's Galton Lecture for 1968), is tantamount to an acceptance of the concept. Thus, although in genetical terms the idea of race is valid, it is of no use as a taxonomic tool, and when mistakenly used as such, as the author clearly states, hinders the progress of the study of physical anthropology.

The Europeans is reasonably concise and its factual information accurate, although there is one particularly unfortunate misprint: the "Sickle Cell Trait" is stated as having "a selective advantage when the genes determining it appear in a homozygous condition", whereas it is the *heterozygote* that is at an advantage, the homozygote being lethal. The presentation is good. The diagrams and maps are especially useful for those approaching physical anthropology for the first time, while the bibliography provides a good basis for a more detailed study. This reappraisal of European diversity forms a valuable addition to the literature, and also makes a very readable general account for the thoughtful layman.

Keeping the communist superstates apart

HARRISON E. SALISBURY: *The Coming War Between Russia and China*. 200pp. Secker and Warburg £2 2s. Pan. 5s.

As the title indicates, Mr. Salisbury believes that war between the two communist "superstates" is likely, and indeed imminent. As one would expect in the light of his sensitive and sympathetic reporting regarding the sufferings of the Vietnamese people, he is not one of those who "view the prospect of such conflict with equanimity or even hopeful anticipation". His concern is to prevent a war that would necessarily engulf the whole of the Asian continent, and he is persuaded that the United States, by a judicious use of its power, can contribute substantially to this end. Indeed, he tends rather to overestimate the limits of American influence, seeing in the present situation "opportunities for American leadership to transform the world, moving it from the brink of destruction to an environment in which men and women of all nations; all races, all kinds of politics, can live in peace and security". Even though the United States here appears as the world's saviour rather than the world's policeman, there is some doubt whether the other peoples, and the Chinese in particular, would wish to go forward to peace and plenty "under American leadership". But this is not really a serious objection to the book, for confidence in one's ability to achieve results is a spur to action, and it is certainly most desirable that the United States Government should act in the sense recommended by Mr. Salisbury.

By way of introduction to his analysis of the present situation, the author reviews the history of Sino-Russian relations before the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic brought the two countries together in the "socialist camp". He correctly underscores the deeply ingrained anti-"yellow" racism of the average Russian, who does not distinguish between the Chinese and his former Mongol oppressors. Looking at the problem from China's side, he notes the continuing resentment both at tsarist expansion in Siberia and at Stalin's patronizing and cavalier treatment of his Chinese comrades. The account of the second theme is by far the worst chapter in the book; misleading even in its broad outlines, it contains errors of detail inexcusable on the part of a journalist of Mr. Salisbury's reputation. Thus, we read that in 1927 "Mao, with small combat units organized during the fighting in Hunan and Shansi, was forming a base in distant Tsinganshan". The author does not appear to have asked himself how Mao could at this time have recruited troops from Shansi in the north-west, where he only set foot in 1936 after the Long March. As for the Chingkangshan, it appears twice on the map at the beginning of the volume, once spelled (more or less) correctly, and once, as in the sentence just quoted, re-transcribed from the Russian. More surprising than this and many other blunders regarding China is the author's reference to Karakhan as Chicherin's successor; a journalist who has lived five years in Moscow should know that Chicherin remained Commissar for Foreign Affairs throughout the 1920s, until he was succeeded a decade later not by Karakhan but by Maxim Litvinov. The conclusion regarding relations between the leaders of the two countries when Mao came to power is boldly stated:

> If Moscow were to open its most secret archives they would demonstrate that Stalin hated, despised, and distrusted Mao from the mid-1920s when Mao, rightly or wrongly, was identified in Stalin's mind with the Trotskyite opposition. On the Chinese side the real record would disclose that there was no one in the Communist movement whom Mao considered a greater enemy.

While it is true that Stalin never really trusted Mao and accepted him only reluctantly as the leader of the Chinese Communist Party, he regarded him not as a Trotskyite, but as a peasant crassly ignorant of Marxist theory. (Mr. Salisbury has here mixed up the Comintern's attitude toward Mao in late 1927 with the condemnation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—in which Mao did not play a dominant role—for Trotskyite deviations.) The second sentence is equally misguided. Mao was aware of Stalin's blunders in attempting to lead the Chinese revolution from Moscow, and objected to the Soviet dictator's obvious lack of respect for himself. But his attitude was one, not of simple hostility, but of mingled resentment and awe. Mao himself summarized the history of their relationship much better than Mr. Salisbury in a speech of September, 1962, before the Central Committee. Referring to polemics with Khrushchev in 1959 and 1960, Mao continued:

> You see, even between Socialist countries and among Marxist-Leninists such problems arise. The real roots go very far back, this affair came up very early. They wouldn't let China make revolution. That was in 1945; Stalin obstructed the Chinese revolution, saying that we couldn't wage civil war and that we should cooperate with Chiang Kai-shek, otherwise the Chinese nation would perish. At that time, we didn't apply this, and the revolution was victorious. After the victory of the revolution, he again suspected that China would be another Yugoslavia, and I would become a Tito. . . . When did Stalin begin to have confidence in us? It began with the Resist-America Aid Korea campaign.

While Mao thus referred to the Korean War as the trial by which he had finally gained Stalin's confidence, Mr. Salisbury presents it as a move by Stalin aimed primarily at placing Mao in a "nutcracker". Although the war ultimately had the effect of making China more dependent on Russia, it is rather unlikely that this was the mainspring of Stalin's policy.

When he reaches the post-Stalin period, Mr. Salisbury is on much surer ground, for he is in a position to draw on personal souvenirs of several trips to Siberia and to Mongolia, and of his experiences in Moscow. The vignettes of Chou En-lai in 1954 speaking English rather than Russian to Mikoyan because the Soviet leaders did not bother to learn Chinese, or of Chinese and Soviet guests regarding one another glumly from opposite sides of the hall at a reception in Ulan Bator in 1959, convey in a few swift images the transition from fraternal alliance—or the appearance thereof—to a state of tension and finally of open hostility.

It was in July, 1959, in Mongolia that Mr. Salisbury first received from a Russian general a direct hint that armed conflict between China and the Soviet Union was possible, and that the Soviets wanted the Americans on their side. He adds that this conversation has been repeated many times over the past decade, until there "can no longer be a shadow of doubt as to what is in these Russian minds". There is indeed no doubt that the Soviet leaders have envisaged the possibility of a preventative strike against Chinese nuclear installations, but it is less certain that they are as blithely unconcerned about the consequences of such action as Mr. Salisbury believes.

The author's analysis of Chinese intentions is even less convincing. Reproducing a map from a secondary-school textbook published in Peking in 1952 which shows large areas of the surrounding countries—including parts of Siberia—as having been taken from China by the imperialists, Mr. Salisbury proceeds to consider whether China really expects to get all these territories back. Although he remarks that these delineations "were not essentially different" from those on maps published under the Nationalists, he fails to note that this particular map, of which the Soviets have made much, was reprinted directly from a book published in China before 1949. Nevertheless this map, in his opinion, does "possess a definite significance" today, for "a number" of the "lost" areas have been declared by the Chinese to represent frontiers still open to negotiation. Yet, in the very same paragraph, Mr. Salisbury cites other Chinese publications which show *only* the frontiers with the Soviet Union as undefined. If that is the case it is difficult to understand how the map as a whole can be taken as an expression of Chinese irredentism.

When he leaves the domain of map-making for that of demography and economic geography, Mr. Salisbury's argument becomes even harder to sustain. Citing two contradictory sets of estimates of China's population by American experts, both allowing for a wide margin of error, he deliberately selects the highest figure of all and concludes from it that the Chinese must either "starve or fight" to occupy large portions of Siberia, unless the United States intervenes to feed them. It is no doubt this conviction that underlies his discussion of the Chinese claim that Tsarist Russia annexed more than 1.5 million square kilometres of Chinese territory, which he treats as though Mao really expected the Russians to negotiate the return of this booty. In fact, it was perfectly clear before the recent Sino-Soviet negotiations (at the time when Mr. Salisbury was writing his book) that this large figure was being put forward by Peking merely as a symbol of Russia's past guilt. Mao wants the Russians to admit that they stole this immense expanse of Chinese territory; he expects to obtain in fact only minor rectifications of the frontier.

This is not to say that China does not have a real population and food problem, which might be marginally alleviated by imports from the United States as well as from Canada and Australia. But the contribution of any scheme to this effect could only be secondary and can scarcely play the central role envisaged by Mr. Salisbury. For not only will China, as he correctly observes, not "beg forgiveness for a bowl of rice or a sack of wheat", but she will not allow herself to become dependent on nations which have exploited her people in the past.

The real scope for American initiative lies rather in the political domain. Referring to Soviet fears that the United States "might turn up in China's corner" in case of war, Mr. Salisbury comments: "When a Russian suggested this to me for the first time a couple of years ago I burst out laughing." Various straws in the wind, such as the American decision of December 19 on trade with China, suggest that Mr. Nixon does not find this as funny as Mr. Salisbury. While there is little likelihood of seeing the United States in Mao's corner, communications do appear to be developing along the third side of the triangle—Washington-Moscow-Peking. Perhaps, by calling attention to the problem, and urging a more neutral stance by the United States, Mr. Salisbury has contributed to this result. If so, he deserves our gratitude.

Father of Chinese nationalism

HAROLD Z. SCHIFFRIN: *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*. 412pp. University of California Press (I.B.E.G.). £4 11s.

Sun Yat-sen lived through the era of China's greatest humiliation at the hands of foreign powers and of despair at China's own capacity to regain a lost reputation. Born in 1866, he left his village home in Kwangtung province, after a rudimentary education at the village primary school, to complete his studies at an Anglican school in Hawaii where his elder brother had made a success among the overseas Chinese community. He later qualified as a doctor at the newly-founded medical college in Hongkong, but the rest of his life was devoted to the cause of Chinese nationalism. When he died in 1925 hope was just dawning for the country's long-awaited reunification and independence of foreign privilege.

In the western world Sun remains one of the best known and probably most admired figures in modern Chinese history. His education was more western than Chinese, his English was fluent, and he genuinely believed that a democratic and liberal China was an attainable goal after necessary reforms. Like many other Chinese—and with the best of intentions—he gave the world a false picture of China's political characteristics. He never earned a high reputation among the treaty port foreigners in China nor has he enjoyed it among critical sinologues these past twenty years. His ideas were muddled, he had no grasp of administration, his policies were improvised, and had he ever survived to rule a new China his reputation might not have lasted long.

Yet he is remembered and honoured as the father of Chinese nationalism by both the communist and nationalist governments. But if Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa had been swept away in 1950 and China had been unified would Sun still be celebrated in Peking? Mao Tse-tung has not shown himself to be a leader who cherishes equals or forerunners in the wide span of modern Chinese revolution. And certainly communist analysis of Sun's career could not result in a favourable report on almost any count. Perhaps only the survival of his widow as a public supporter of the mainland government (is she still?) would have kept his portrait out of the lumber room.

The more reason then for the rediscovery to which Mr. Schiffrin has addressed himself, and with conspicuous success, in this study of the decade from 1894 to 1905. Indeed, no adequate biography of Sun exists in English and the only critical study was Mrs. Lyon Sharman's analysis of his political ideas as far back as 1934.

In fact Sun's formative years as a revolutionary illuminate all the conflicts in Chinese society at the time. When he formed the Hsing Chung Hui in Hawaii in 1894 it was a conspiratorial secret society following in a standard Chinese tradition—and one which for years afterwards Sun was unwilling wholly to forsake—not at all a mass movement. With the formation of the T'ung Meng Hui in 1905, where Mr. Schiffrin ends this book, the germ of a political party was given a clearer formulation of the aims of Chinese nationalism.

Sun Yat-sen was obviously an outsider—in the snobbish sense of the word, as well as in his upbringing and travels outside his homeland. This "rustic ruffian", this "uncultured outlaw", had no Chinese classical education. Even his backers were unacceptable. When they were not fellow Cantonese, minor merchants in overseas Chinese communities, they were richer versions of the same class based in Hongkong who might contribute to Sun's ill-formed nationalist aims but were just as ready to stump up in aid of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee. One can see how a reformer in the traditional mould like K'ang Yu-wei would spurn his collaboration.

What got Sun through every time was his tenacity and his undoubted magnetism. His great success in England was not wholly due to a dramatic release from incarceration in the Chinese Embassy in Portland Place or the English Christian exterior that surprised the reporters who followed up the story of the thirty-year-old revolutionary. Sun had a style of his own, even a varied one, since he was more than capable of giving a different account of himself to different audiences and improvising his aims as he went along.

One of the many virtues of Mr. Schiffrin's book is the thorough research he has done into Sun's movements in these years of constant travel, of failure, and new beginnings. He gives us a clearer picture of his contacts, especially his Japanese supporters and his life in Japan. Above all he reveals Sun's own confusion which by 1905 had been sufficiently clarified for his "three principles of the people" to be formulated.

Against a background of vague pan-Asianism Sun had pursued a dubious ethnic hostility to the "barbarian" Manchu rulers while telling his foreign audiences that the Manchus were a barrier to closer relations with the West. The new generation of Chinese students, on the other hand, saw the Manchus as appeasers of the West. To some of the students Sun himself might have seemed such an appeaser, writing in the *Fortnightly Review* as late as 1897 of a China "ruled by native Chinese with, at first, European advice and for some years European administrative assistance". By 1905, however, Sun's confident nationalism was predicting a China that would cut all the corners in political development and soon have the world sitting at its feet.

The confidence, even the audacity he had always had; but in the decade from the founding of the Hsing Chung Hui in Hawaii to the formation of the T'ung Meng Hui in Tokyo Sun was able to bring his ambitions and his manoeuvres into focus. Mr. Schiffrin deserves credit for bringing this formative period in Sun's revolutionary development before us, with the detail filled in but the central theme always illuminated.

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ROBERT FERNIER : *Gustave Courbet*. Translated by Marcus Bullock. 140pp. Pall Mall Press. £5.

This handsome, expensive but unsatisfactory book appears in time for the 150th anniversary of the birth of Gustave Courbet, accepted universally as one of the greatest painters of the nineteenth century but never forgiven by a section of French establishment opinion. The exhibition of paintings to celebrate this event is held characteristically outside France in Italy. In a text which is at the same time affectionate enthusiastic and sentimental, Robert Fernier, President of the Society of Friends of Gustave Courbet and himself a painter from Courbet's own province of Franche-Comté, describes briefly the work and tumultuous life of the "Master Painter of Ornans". Most of Courbet's best known paintings are illustrated, "The Stone Breakers", "Burial at Ornans", "Young Women of the Village", "The Bathers", "The Meeting", "Sleeping Women", and eighteen others in colour. One regrettable but understandable omission is "The Origin of the World", commissioned by Khalil Bey, a former Turkish Ambassador to St. Petersburg. Maxime Du Camp described it as "the front view of a naked woman" in which the painter "has forgotten to show the feet, legs, thighs, abdomen, hips, chest, hands, arms, shoulders, neck and head".

The illustrations are excellent. But the size of the paintings is generally not given. There is no relation between illustrations and text, as is increasingly the case in internationally produced picture books. To compensate there are magazine-like captions under each picture. For anyone who wants to do more than glance at Courbet the book is unsatisfactory because it lacks an index, a chronology of Courbet's life, or a list of the more than three dozen major exhibitions of his works since his famous one-man "Realism" show in Paris in 1855. There is an abbreviated bibliography.

What is interesting about this modified coffee-table book on the greatest anti-establishment painter of the nineteenth century is the selection of René Huyghe to write the introduction. This distinguished member of the French Academy, as well as of the Argentine and Portuguese Academies, Commander of the Légion d'Honneur and member of the Order of Leopold, is the establishment art critic par excellence. His cold introduction has no connexion with the rest of the book. This is not surprising, since it is a rearrangement of his introduction to the catalogue of the great Philadelphia-Boston exhibition of 1959-60. M. Huyghe does, of course, say that Courbet was a great painter, but his recognition of that incontestable fact is embedded in such a mass of criticisms of his personality and behaviour as to give the impression that writing about Courbet is a necessary but distasteful task, like collecting semen from a blood-stock bull. Huyghe makes no mention of Courbet as a portrait painter—he was among the greatest of his century. But then it would have been difficult to deal with this subject because so many of his subjects were beyond the fringe—Vallès, Rochefort, Proudhon, and of course, Courbet himself, with his large number of self-portraits.

For the non-French it is still a matter of considerable wonder that after all these years since the Vendôme Column was *déboulonné* (or unbolted) the French establishment has never forgiven Courbet. Like hundreds of thousands of other decent Frenchmen, he supported the pulling down of this monument to stupidity and the sacrifice of other people's blood. But legally he could not be held responsible for a decision made by a body of which he was not a member and for an act in which he was not directly involved. The vindictive bourgeois regime which took power in Paris on the fall of the Commune and which summarily executed tens of thousands of men, women and children, could not have found a more perfect scapegoat than Courbet, avowed enemy of the bourgeois masters of society. They drove him into exile and premature death. By a judgment of May 4, 1874, Courbet was billed for 323,091.68 francs, the cost of re-erecting the Vendôme Column; the Government allowed him to repay this amount in yearly instalments of 10,000 francs. His friend the critic Castagnary commented that he could see Courbet at the age of ninety-two saying: "At last I've paid for the column: from now on I shall work for myself."

So M. Huyghe's introduction—a typically eloquent rhetorical performance in the tradition of the Academy—is a logical establishment statement about one of its enemies. Daumier refused the Légion d'Honneur at the same time as Courbet, but quietly. He has never been treated by them with hatred. Courbet rejected the unsought bauble with a burst of eloquence exposing the whole shabby system of prizes and state honours of which M. Huyghe is such a strong pillar.

M. Huyghe writes that "as a man Courbet was dull, ordinary, with a slight and too easily satisfied intelligence, and a narrow sensibility without depth". Could this be the same man who in a draft of his letter to the Minister of Fine Arts refusing the decoration wrote:

> If you were to go to the market at Ornans you would notice that the backs of the finest sheep were marked with a cross in red chalk. Naive people who know nothing of country matters imagine in their innocence that this is a tribute to their beauty. But it is the butcher who has marked them for slaughter.

Gustave Courbet is too important a figure in the history of painting to be disposed of so easily (and expensively). The serious reader interested in Courbet will still have to go back to Léger's forty-year-old study in French, and Gerstle Mack's eighteen-year-old study in English.

Modern begattery

H. H. ARNASON : *A History of Modern Art*. 663pp. Thames and Hudson. £8 8s.

History? One wonders. The word is perhaps over-used nowadays for compendia of this kind, and maybe there is a case for a revival of the word "chronicle". In fact one can almost see Mr. Arnason, Vice-President for Art Administration of the Guggenheim Foundation, seated in one of those cells that append to the monumental upward-spiralling cloister of the Guggenheim Museum, surrounded by photographic archives and electric typewriters, compiling like a latter-day monk the begattery which is the pedigree of (among others) that great institution. In the beginning, was Cézanne. . . . This is of course unfairly to oversimplify. The book, from another point of view, works as analytic introduction to the grammar, to the syntax and vocabulary of modern art, including, very properly, architecture. But it is true too that only the most glancing attention is paid to the *historical* reasons for the explosion of modern art: the social, intellectual, spiritual and political conditions in which it took flight.

There is then a limitation of scope not allowed for in the book's title. Given that limitation, this is probably the most complete and useful of such surveys yet to appear. To begin with, though eight guineas is still an awful lot for the average book-buyer's pocket, 1,393 reproductions (of which 264 in mostly fairly reasonable colour) work out at that price at about 1½d. each, which seems a bargain. Further, the text, for readability, is something of a triumph. Mr. Arnason, throughout this long and exhaustive account based on a vastly wide knowledge, manages to remain marvellously unexhausted in his prose; he is helped by a very carefully thought-through relationship of text to reproductions, so that (except in the case of the colour plates which come in blocks) the eye can move effortlessly across a single page, from argument or analysis to the illustration of the key-piece involved.

Generally, each chapter deals with a movement, opening with a general statement and proceeding thence to potted individual accounts of the main artists who worked in or near it. Mr. Arnason in fact starts long before Cézanne (with the playing down of perspective-recession by the neo-classical painters in the late eighteenth century), and closes pretty up to date with primary structures, minimal, and systematic. "A book like this", he notes realistically, "cannot end but it must stop, nevertheless". If, in his account particularly of the work of the 1960s, he sometimes seems to lay himself open to the charge of being a chronicler of changing fashion (beer sometimes of huge head but little body) rather than an evaluator of quality, one can at least sympathize in view of the stunning barrage of novelty that contemporary art blasts forth.

As for the balance of emphasis, no author of such a symposium can hope to please all the people all the time; British readers may feel undervalued, for if Utrillo gets nearly a page and two reproductions—though the author himself suggests that his may be "really nineteenth-century paintings"—should not Lowry (who after all includes figures in the lean architecture as pure bonus) get a mention? A. John one would scarcely expect to find in the index, but if M. Laurencin is there, surely G. John would rate a place—and Bomberg, or Hitchens—or, among the architects, Lasdun, or James Stirling. But overall, the selection, if arguably overweighted on the American sector, seems fairly just in the book's terms of reference, and the early achievements of Austrian, German, Italian and Russian revolutionaries get full credit besides the Parisians.

Rise of the designer

HUGH HONOUR : *Cabinet Makers and Furniture Designers*. 320pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £5 5s.

DAVID JOEL : *Furniture Design Set Free*. 108pp. Dent. £4 4s.

If the coffee-table book shows no sign of withering away, it at least seems to be shrinking. For *Cabinet Makers and Furniture Designers*, though a quite reasonably handleable quarto volume, is essentially a coffee-table book. The subject is treated in a series of brief essays, each richly illustrated, on fifty-two individual furniture makers or designers ranging from Du Cerceau, born in about 1520, to Charles Eames, who is still less than sixty-five years old. Many of them, and these among the most interesting, concern men like Hoppenhaupt and Pelagio Palagi, who are unlikely to be known to anyone who keeps his books on a coffee-table.

But Mr. Honour is far too intelligent a writer to lend himself to the compilation of a mere coffee-table book in the pejorative sense. He has, he tells us, a thesis, a theme running through his essays. This is that the history of furniture, particularly since the Industrial Revolution, is "largely the story of the designer's gradual rise to absolute pre-eminence over the other two members of the eternal triangle—artisan and workshop owner". Unhappily the space at his disposal does not permit him to develop this thesis in any depth. None of these lively essays exceeds about 1,500 words and nearly all of them, in spite of their deft summarizing of published information, stop short tantalizingly just where they might be really interesting to the specialist. Thus there is no space to explore many matters crucial to the book's theme.

For instance, the influence of André-Charles Boulle's great art collection on his furniture design (and it was unquestionably profound) goes unexamined, and the puzzling question about why it was that the numerous south German furniture-makers who came to France after 1740 were able to assimilate the Parisian styles almost instantly is touched on in a single sentence only. Did Frenchmen provide them with their furniture designers? It seems likely, but Mr. Honour does not enlighten us. It is of course mere bad luck that the essay on Chippendale should have for its principal illustration a colour plate of the *chinoiserie* bed from Badminton just at the moment when it has been shown to have been almost certainly made by William Linnell from a design by his son John (see *TLS* October 11, 1969).

Commander David Joel, a furniture workshop owner of long experience, would not entirely agree with Mr. Honour's thesis. In the last chapter of his *Furniture Design Set Free* he discusses the work of those he considers the best furniture makers of modern England. Referring to his earlier book, he writes: "I used the term 'artist craftsman' . . . which now I think is a misnomer. A more suitable term is 'designer craftsman'." And of the furniture makers he signals out for praise, only a few depended on outside designers for the furniture they have made.

This is in many ways a maddening book, full of violent prejudices especially against all mid and later nineteenth-century furniture (about which Mr. Honour writes particularly perceptively). Indeed one gets the impression that Mr. Joel believes at heart that even the best eighteenth-century productions are inferior to much of what is being created today, though he rebuts such a charge in advance by declaring they are acceptable only in a perfect period setting unmixed with anything of earlier or later date. This is, of course, a pure interior decorator's view and has never prevailed for any length of time, though it failed to do so in France between 1730 and 1815 only because of the dogged but enlightened obstinacy of patrons.

In spite of all this, *Furniture Design Set Free* is likely, in the long run, to be more important for historians of furniture than Mr. Honour's far more sophisticated publication. Buried in wild over-emphasis and *idées fixes*, it enshrines a great deal of information about the furniture making trade in England during the past half century, especially on such matters as the effects of the war and the consequent timber shortage on furniture design. For earlier periods this sort of information has to be painfully dug out piecemeal by archivists and scholars. It also includes a group of photographs and potted biographies of living and recently deceased English furniture makers.

INDIAN LANGUAGES

Hindi Made Easy, by Bhat, Rs. 3.50; *Hindustani Without a Master*, by Syed, Rs. 2.95; *Domestic Hindustani*, by Phillott, Rs. 1.95; *Textbook of Urdu*, by Willatt, Rs. 1.75; *Kannada Made Easy*, by H. R. Rao, Rs. 4.00; *Telugu Without Tutor*, by H. R. Rao, Rs. 4.00; *Teach Yourself Gujarati*, by S. M. Kapadia, Rs. 3.50. (All Books are in Roman script.)

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Rise of landscape

ROBERT A. KOCH : *Joachim Patinir*. 98pp. 92 plates. Princeton University Press. London : Oxford University Press. £5 19s.

In this handsome book, Robert A. Koch of Princeton carries on the complex task started by Baldass in 1918 and continued by M. J. Friedländer in 1931 of sorting out the paintings which have been grouped under the general label of the Flemish painter, Joachim Patinir. In particular he has established convincingly that more than a dozen works attributed to Patinir were in fact painted by his close follower who, for want of a better name, is identified as the Master of the Half-Lengths.

Professor Koch has meticulously assembled all the known data about the life of Patinir. Basing himself on the valuable contemporary writings of Dürer, Guicciardini, and Rem he has been able to establish a useful list of his patrons and early collectors. Although more facts have emerged about Patinir than about most of his contemporaries—Bosch in particular—biographically the harvest is thin. And yet it is odd that so little has come to light about Patinir, a painter extremely well known in his day.

The style of Patinir is thoroughly explored by Professor Koch, who shows the strong influence on it of Bosch. In particular he demonstrates Patinir's derivation from that great master's panoramic world landscapes of the special devices of the isolated tree, and the bird's eye view, with its horizon at immense distance, details clearly visible as if scanned through a telescope.

From his painstaking study of stylistic characteristics and iconographical details, as well as the scanty available literary source material, Professor Koch has produced what will remain for many years the definitive list of authentic Patinir works. Gallery-goers who have seen many dozens of paintings bearing the Patinir label in museums scattered all over the globe will be surprised—and instructed—to learn that he accepts only eighteen of them as unqualifiably authentic. This more than halves Friedländer's 1931 list of thirty-nine works. Further, in this reduction process Koch questions whether many of the figures in these eighteen works, particularly from the middle and later periods, are from the master's hand. But at the same time he does bring some order into the Patinir disarray. He shows that thirteen paintings are from Patinir's workshop, five are by anonymous later followers, and thirteen are works by the Master of the Half-Lengths.

Professor Koch shows us that in Patinir's "Landscape with St Jerome" (Karlsruhe) we have in northern panel painting for the first time emphasis given to the landscape as such, in place of the customary religious figure set into a landscape background. Although he considers this innovation of Patinir not so much a beginning as an end in Flemish painting, the important fact is that he was, as Friedländer pointed out, "the first landscape painter". Such are the changes in taste that this fact is appreciated more by us than it was by his artistic contemporaries. In a conversation with Francesco da Hollanda, Michelangelo is quoted as saying that the landscapes of Patinir are only fit for "young women, monks and nuns, or certain noble persons who have no ear for true harmony". Why landscape painting developed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in the north rather than in Italy, and why its first master should have aroused such a caustic response from Michelangelo are questions which Professor Koch clearly considers outside the scope of his study. But it is a pity that he does not share with us some of his undoubtedly vast knowledge of the political, economic and social background of Patinir's time and place.

Military mycologist

MOLLY IZZARD: *A Heroine in Her Time*. 368pp. Macmillan. £3 10s.

Mycology, even in that aspect which deals with the sex life and reproductive processes of fungi, is not, at first sight, a study calculated to develop understanding of the human animal. Yet a mycologist it was whom, in 1939, the War Office placed at the head of the A.T.S., that rather lumbering, earthbound Auxiliary Territorial Service which, four years later, had sucked 210,000 girls and women into its ranks. One of the curious features of the life and career of Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan which are brought out in this intelligently exhaustive biography is the fact that when, on All Souls' Day, 1967, there was held for her at St Clement Danes, the R.A.F. Church, a Memorial Service which was the equivalent of a soldier's funeral, the uniformed and beribboned majority of the congregation had no idea that the woman they were honouring had spent thirty years of her life as a university teacher against six only, divided between two world wars, in the services. For public opinion, as for history, Dame Helen was the woman who made the reputation of both the W.A.A.C. and the W.R.A.F. in France in 1918, and who, in 1941, was dismissed—the word used by authority was, of course, "replaced" —from the command of the A.T.S.

The reasons behind that minor sensation as they are detailed by Mrs. Izzard make clear its inevitability. At sixty any woman would have been too old to build up a service whose members were mostly girls in their early twenties. Dame Helen, besides being sixty, was humourless, rigid, bored by the daily details of welfare, totally lacking in imagination, blinkered by the preconceptions of the unintellectual minor aristocracy and handicapped by an old-fashioned Scottish upbringing. Also, handsome though she was, with the aid of surviving bits of W.A.A.C. uniform she often managed to make herself look like a beaten-up old hen boffin. Against all this, the fact that she was not only a natural leader but a kind, sensible, immensely able woman, with an almost morbidly strong sense of duty, could not prevail. Nor were the attitudes acquired during girls' club work in Edwardian London and established in command of the largely working-class W.A.A.C. appropriate.

Mrs. Izzard digs deep to show the making of such a character. Helen Fraser's father died when she was four years old. After that Scotland and the sober relatives with whom she spent part of her childhood were a far stronger influence than Portugal and Algiers (both of which she seems to have disliked) which alternated with it, as her stepfather was in the Consular Service. Amiable as he was, Helen was determined to undervalue him. Others may look more askance at a mother, a so-called "society novelist", who, when she organized children's theatricals, cast her rather awkward elder daughter first as the Beast, later as Bluebeard. At all events, it was chiefly her stepfather's mathematical coaching that got her into Cheltenham, under Miss Beale, though late, and for too short a time. It says much for her intellectual equipment as well as for her will-power that, with so exiguous a basic education, she was able, after overcoming family opposition, to qualify for London University, win the Carter Gold Medal and Prize in Botany in her second year, and begin her academic career as a demonstrator to the Professor of Botany.

As a teacher she appears to have been highly efficient without being inspiring. As a colleague she must have been pretty intolerable, single-minded as a bulldozer, aggressively "independent" but liable to come the nobility and gentry at unexpected moments. As a citizen she was, throughout her life, exemplary, giving her time, her ability and, when needed, her money, without stint to needy and deserving individuals as well as to organizations like the S.S.A.F.A., the forces' welfare society. As a private individual she had curiously little existence. The author, writing of her in her distinguished old age, says:

> She had no artistic or cultural interests; she kept no pets, grew no plants, had no hobby. She was tone-deaf and had a philistine complacency at her freedom from the tyranny of the artistic sensibility.

It was a tragedy in more than the conventional, human sense that her husband should have died less than four years after their marriage. David Gwynne-Vaughan, Welsh to her Scots, with the corresponding temperament, might have been intended by nature as his wife's complement. A biologist of distinction, in whom his wife recognized her superior, he respected her own achievement, and he also loved her, laughed at her, and refused to be over-awed by her. He alone might have transformed this essentially incomplete personality into the abundantly rich one which it should have been. And she knew it. Fifty-two years later the only instructions she left for her funeral were that her husband's letters and his picture were to be placed in her coffin.

An Ulster upbringing

ROBERT GREACEN: *Even Without Irene*. Introduction by Clifford Dyment. 116pp. Dolmen Press. London: Oxford University Press. 30s.

Even Without Irene, a fragment of an autobiography, recounts the triumph of personal dedication to one's "poetic impulse" over more than normal frustration. For Mr. Greacen's boyhood was warped by his father's temperamental inability to succeed and final collapse into drunken futility. He describes this disaster without bitterness, even with amused sympathy, while vividly recalling the anger which tormented him at the time and some of its incidental indignities. Moods of anger and despair alternated with buoyant ambitions and "long crazy thoughts of youth". His family were simple people, small farmers and small shopkeepers in Northern Ireland, but they belonged to the dominant Presbyterian community whose ethic of self-reliance and assurance of righteousness and superiority supported them through such adversities as a burnt farm and a failing shop.

Mr. Greacen recaptures without sentimentality the happiness of a small boy in the country and the pleasures of the back streets and the junior school. The record of his adolescence is more pedestrian: all boys' schools are essentially the same; everyone remembers the master who was a just beast and the remote headmaster who realized that bad boys "were not truly wicked or insolent". Many bright boys have filled their essays with "squibs that expressed left-wing, free-love, and violently anti-bourgeois opinions". Mr. Greacen was lucky in having a tolerant master who allowed such opinions to appear in the school magazine, and even luckier when he became an undergraduate at Belfast to find himself in a group of young writers who produced a worthwhile journal and soon saw their writings beginning to appear in London journals like *Horizon* and *Modern Reading* and *Poetry Quarterly*.

The unattainable Irene of his title is seen in retrospect as a mildly absurd personification of "the idea of being in love":

> a pale, tall, slight-breasted girl vastly interested in literature who had read some poems of mine with approval. We discussed poetry from Wordsworth to Dylan Thomas and Louis MacNeice, or I would go up the Antrim Road to Brookhill Avenue and glance at the dignified if non-descript brick house inhabited by my beloved.

Recovery of his earlier self breaks off after this lyrical account of youth, which seems to have been written six or seven years ago, and the short book continues with a summary recital of Mr. Greacen's literary friendships. He is singularly reticent about his emotional or intellectual interests during the past twenty-five years. He tells of two or three well-known writers in Dublin and London who encouraged him at the start, but except in the cases of two friends lost in the war there is no evocation of personality, no suggestion that these poets are half as vivid to him as his uncles and aunts and the small boys at his earliest schools. In the final chapter he revisits Belfast and finds

> a city partly made up of the living and the dead, but of others too: those who are alive in the flesh but dead to me. I have no regrets, I make no apologies. I still keep an eye out for the ghost-like figure of tall, blonde Irene, but life has long ago taken on a new and satisfying rhythm.

Buddies and bullies

TRUMAN CAPOTE: *The Thanksgiving Visitor*. 64pp. Hamish Hamilton. 21s.

Until he was ten, Truman Capote lived with a household of distant and elderly cousins in a small town in rural Alabama. "Not that I was unhappy there; indeed, moments of those few years turned out to be the happiest part of an otherwise difficult childhood, mainly because the youngest of the cousins, a woman in her sixties, became my first friend." The idyll ended in 1934 with enrolment as a student at a military academy in New York State.

Like *A Christmas Memory*, *The Thanksgiving Visitor* is an autobiographical fragment from those years, especially of his love for one of the aging spinster cousins, Miss Sook Faulk. She understood children, and him absolutely:

> She chopped firewood, tended a large menagerie of chickens, turkeys and hogs, scrubbed, dusted, mended all our clothes; yet when I came home from school, she was always eager to keep me company—to play a card game named Rook or rush off on a mushroom hunt or have a pillow fight or, as we sat in the kitchen's waning afternoon light, help me with homework.

But if Miss Faulk, in her frayed and squeaking tennis-shoes, was the mother-substitute turned buddy, it was Odd Henderson, the school bully as satanic tormentor (bony, red-haired, yellow-eyed), who injected a knowledge of good and evil into this Eden. "You're a sissy", he explained calmly, "I'm just straightening you out."

He was right, I was a sissy of sorts, and the moment he said it, I realized there was nothing I could do to alter his judgment, other than toughen myself to accept and defend the fact.

That was the first lesson.

There was to be a second, when Miss Faulk deliberately invited Odd Henderson to a family Thanksgiving dinner, whose puzzling paradoxes ran deeper: cold, calculated revenge, it seemed, was worse than an act of instinctive evil. There was "only one unpardonable sin — *deliberate cruelty*". And Odd Henderson disappeared into the Merchant Marine somehow the victor.

Such are recognitions of childhood to haunt the adult. If this volume seems thin Truman Capote has told his story with such precise economy that once inside the covers readers will no longer question the format. This is story-telling in the classic tradition.

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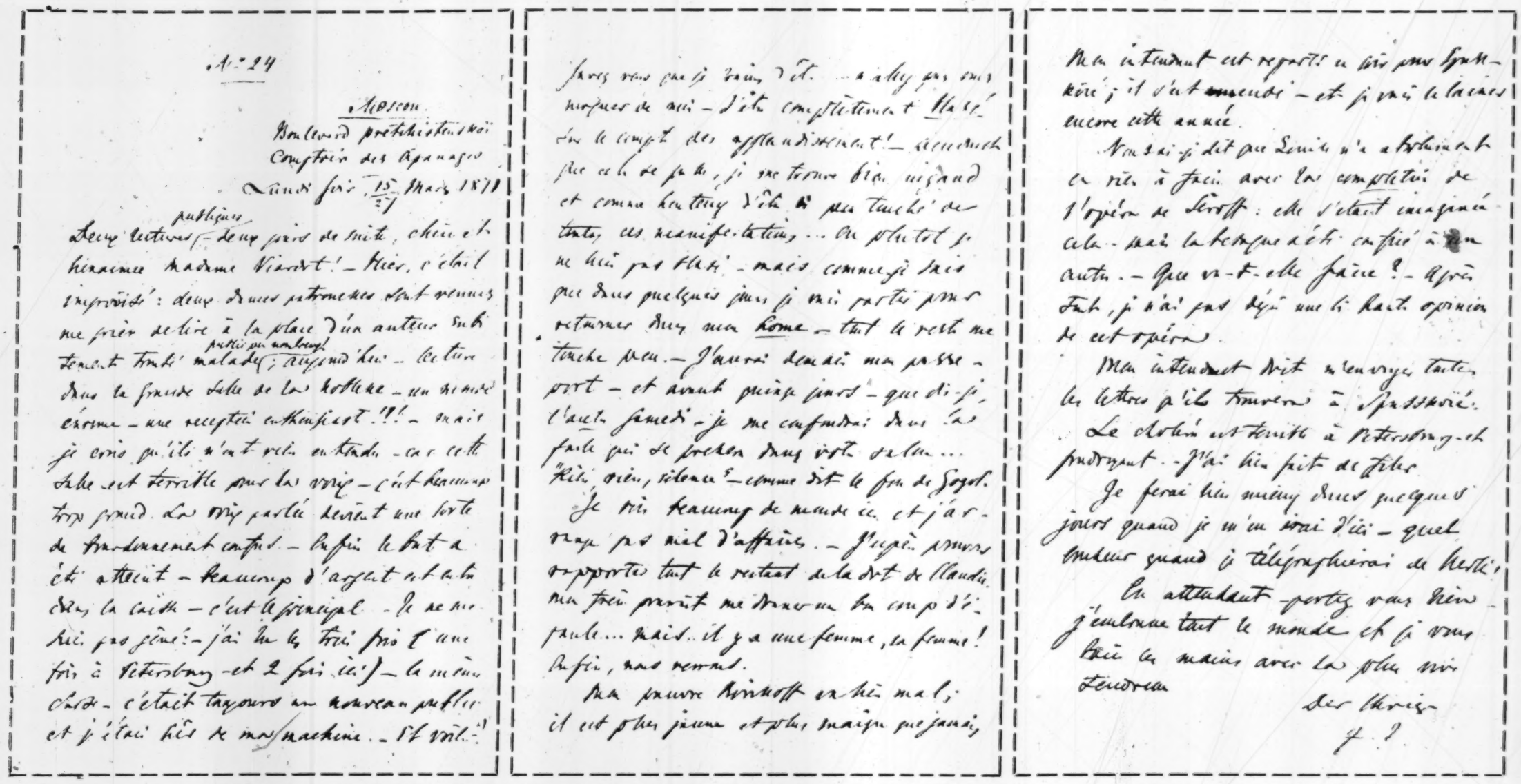


N° 24

Moscou
Boulevard protchistenskoï
Comptoir des Apanages
Vendredi 15/27 Mars 1871

Deux lectures publiques de suite, chez ma bienaimée Madame Viardot! — Hier, c'était empoisonné: deux dames patronesses sont venues me prier de lire à la place d'un auteur subitement tombé malade; puis on l'a annoncé publiquement! — Bref — lecture dans la grande salle de la noblesse — un monde énorme — une réception enthousiaste!!! — mais je crois qu'ils n'ont rien entendu — car cette salle est terrible pour la voix — c'est beaucoup trop grand. La voix parlée devient une sorte de bourdonnement confus. — Enfin le but a été atteint — beaucoup d'argent est entré dans la caisse — c'est l'essentiel. — Je ne me suis pas gêné: — j'ai lu le trois fois (une fois à Petersbourg — et 2 fois ici) — la même chose — c'était toujours un nouveau public et j'étais fier de ma machine. — Et voilà!

Sachez vous que si vous n'êtes pas encore mariée — j'irai vous marier de suite — j'irai complètement à Nice — dès le compte des appointements! — Décidément Nice est la ville, si on trouve bien vigoureux et comme heureux d'être à ses pieds — de toutes ces manifestations... Ou plutôt je ne suis pas fixé — mais comme je suis pressé dans quelques jours je suis parti pour retrouver Deux mois Rome — tout le reste me touche peu. — J'aurai demain mon passeport — et avant quinze jours — que dis-je, l'autre samedi — je me confondrai dans les paroles qui se prodiguent dans votre salon... "Rien, rien, silence" — comme dit le fou de Gogol.

Je vois beaucoup de monde ici et j'arrange pas mal d'affaires. — J'espère pouvoir rapporter tout le restant de la dot de Claudie. Ma femme prétend me donner un coup d'épaule... mais... il y a une femme, la femme! Enfin, nous verrons.

Ma pauvre Viardot se tient mal; il est plus jaune et plus maigre que jamais

Mon intendant est reparti ce soir pour Spasskoïé; il doit amender — et je vais le laisser encore cette année.

Ainsi ai-je dit que Louis n'a absolument rien à faire avec les comptes de l'opéra de Lentoff: elle s'était imaginé cela — mais la tempête a été confiée à un autre. — Que va-t-elle faire? — Après tout, je n'ai pas déjà une si haute opinion de cet opéra.

Mon intendant doit m'envoyer toutes les lettres qu'ils trouveront à Spasskoïé.

Le dernier est terminé à Petersbourg et prodigieux. — J'ai bien fait de filer.

Je ferai bien encore deux quelques jours quand je m'en irai d'ici — quel bonheur quand je télégraphierai de Nice!

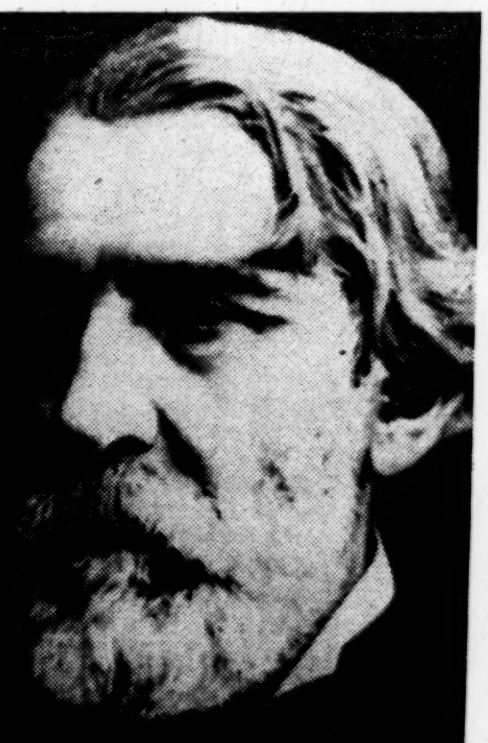
En attendant — portez vous bien — j'embrasse tout le monde et je vous baise les mains avec la plus vive tendresse

Votre
J. T.

Turgenev's letter to Pauline Viardot of 15/27 March 1871, as transcribed on the page opposite. It is reproduced by courtesy of the librarian, from the original in Provins public library.

Pauline Viardot as Turgenev's censor

by Patrick Waddington



"THERE IS A STORY behind these letters", wrote Ely Halpérine-Kaminsky in his preface to *Ivan Tourgueneff: Lettres à Madame Viardot* (Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1907). A chance discovery I made last summer in the public library at Provins (Seine-et-Marne) makes it possible to tell that story in more detail.

The correspondence had been lost or stolen at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War, when the Viardots hastily moved from Baden-Baden. An anonymous admirer of Turgenev had discovered it among some worthless papers in a box he had acquired from a Berlin bookseller, who in turn had bought this from the widow of a French doctor. Halpérine could say nothing more than that. In *The Price of Genius: A Life of Pauline Viardot* (Calder, 1964), April FitzLyon maintains that the doctor was a German, and a close friend of the Viardots; the matter clearly needs further examination.

At all events, when Pauline Viardot heard of the existence of these letters, she demanded their return; their owner, conscious of the sacred trust which fate had put into his hands, preferred to wait until she died. After much discussion Mme. Viardot had her way: the letters were restored to her, and published in her lifetime but under her censorial control. Passages and even complete letters were rejected, and Halpérine tells us that some "witty, never spiteful digs at famous people" disappeared along with all the "details of a private character". Although many of these were published by various Russian journals after Mme. Viardot's death in 1910, it has long been suspected that many of the things Turgenev wrote to her are still not known to us; and in any case the original French forms of the letters she withheld have never appeared in print. It was only by one of those curious half-coincidences of research that the inquiry can now usefully be reopened.

I was looking, as it happens, for some documents belonging to the Viardots' former doctor, Alexandre Frisson. Since his widow lived for many years in Provins it was reasonable to suppose they might be in the library there. The librarian, M. Pionnier, did not think they were; but he wondered if the doctor had corresponded with a certain Emile Dodillon. The appropriate file contained no trace of Frisson, but in letters from Halpérine and Emile Haumant the story of the Viardot publication lay revealed. A swift search through the bulging, dusty cupboards of the attic and the storerooms then produced the evidence on which these scholars had based their friendship for the owner of Turgenev's correspondence.

Marius-Emile Dodillon was born at Crèvecoeur (Seine-et-Marne) in August, 1848, the eldest child of a respected schoolteacher. In 1871 he settled at Provins as a veterinary surgeon, but literature was soon his principal pursuit. Already in 1869 his "beaux vers" had been praised by Victor Hugo, while Banville had placed him at the head of young French poets. *La Chanson d'hier*, of 1881, is possibly his most successful later volume. It was, however, as a novelist that Dodillon achieved contemporary recognition. He sent his books to Daudet, Zola, Mallarmé and many other writers, who appreciated his real but limited talent. Goncourt, to whom he dedicated his novel *Le Moulin Blanc* (1884), thought very highly of him—though he did advise him to forsake his "passion for the *con*". Dodillon died, a bachelor, just before the First World War.

In 1896 a mutual friend asked Dodillon if he would kindly help the scholar Emile Haumant in his researches on Turgenev. Haumant later came to Provins, had a charming time, and took away with him a sheaf of extracts from the missing letters to Pauline Viardot which Dodillon had preserved "so dearly and discreetly", promising, of course, he would not use them "too revealingly". When he produced his study *Ivan Tourguénief: La vie et l'oeuvre* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1906), Haumant went no further than to mention that he had consulted "a certain number of unpublished letters".

Meanwhile, on January 9, 1897, Dodillon received an unexpected letter from Halpérine-Kaminsky. Dodillon doubtless knew, it went, that he had started publishing the letters of Turgenev to his friends in France: some correspondence with Flaubert and with Mme. Viardot herself had already appeared in the review *Cosmopolis*, which shortly was also to publish letters to Zola, Maupassant, and other famous writers. One of Turgenev's literary friends, "the one who knew him best" (this was almost certainly Daudet, as April FitzLyon also alleges), had told Halpérine of the bulky correspondence owned by Dodillon. Could he publish it? It should be noted that Mme. Viardot, Turgenev's "residuary legatee", had authorized him to make public any letters from her lifelong friend except, of course, the ones "qui pourraient froisser des légitimes susceptibilités".

Dodillon replied immediately. He knew Halpérine's work, but regretted he was half-committed in another direction. It was not that he had ever wished to commandeer the treasure fate had brought him twenty years ago. On the contrary, he lent it to all fellow-worshippers of his literary god; and at the moment it was very far away, in the possession of a "great novelist" (in view of later developments, this might even have been a Russian novelist; but perhaps some other "fellow-worshipper" like Bourget was meant). If on their return the letters ever did get published, let this be entirely to the glory of their author.

Halpérine now began to play a clever game. On January 10 he thanked Dodillon for his kind and very prompt reply, and asked if he at least could *talk* with him about the correspondence. He had already been to the depths of Russia searching for material, so a little trip to Provins would not be a waste of time. He must, moreover, add that, as Turgenev's friend, he could not wish for monetary gain in this affair, but rather for the good name of a man so odiously slandered. Two days later he was thanking Dodillon again, this time for his gracious invitation to lunch at Provins on January 21. He hoped that he would not go further than the promised "côtelette pas trop saignante", for in this respect he was a fervent and abstemious follower of Tolstoy.

Dodillon had evidently said he would try to persuade Haumant to return the letter-extracts, because Halpérine turned his guile now on that gentleman. He knew his work, of course, but he also knew that Haumant "désirerait pour ainsi dire monopoliser les intéressants matériaux que vous lui avez communiqués". At the same time Haumant must not see in him a rival, as he only wished to defend Turgenev from gossip in which his patroness's name was implicated. Dodillon should say nothing to anyone before Halpérine could explain in person all the complex situation; meanwhile, if the original letters could be quickly recovered, by all means let their meeting be delayed for a time.

On January 16 Haumant returned the extracts with apologies for keeping them so long. Dodillon and Halpérine's elation was quickly dashed ently agreed in principle to publish all the correspondence; but Halpérine's elation was quickly dashed by a new reaction from the Viardots. It emerged in a long interview with Georges Chamerot that his mother-in-law was displeased by the public discussion in both France and Russia which had followed the earlier edition of some letters. When Halpérine said she could cut out everything "of no interest to the general public", Chamerot retorted that the letters must first be in her hands; and when it was alleged that they were now in Russia, and could be published there whether she liked it or not, he simply lost his temper and went off. The next day Halpérine received the following curt note:

> Mme. Viardot has never relinquished any letters addressed to her by M Turgenev, and thus fails to see how anyone can own some. The so-called letters of which you have been told are therefore either forgeries or have been stolen from her. In either case she would prevent their being published by all legal proceedings.

It was some weeks before Halpérine summoned the courage to go to Pauline herself, but on February 25 he wrote to Dodillon that she was yielding: they must "strike while the iron is hot, for now it is hot indeed". Dodillon did not seem to appreciate the urgency of the situation, however, and he had to be told again: anything might happen from one day to the next, and publication could be banned "*even in Russia*". Only towards the end of May did he agree to send the first few letters for Mme. Viardot's consideration, thus allowing negotiations to begin in earnest on Halpérine's terms. The letters were to arrive in batches of fifteen. In each

batch Mme. Viardot would select those letters or parts of letters which she wanted to be published, making authorized copies of them for the printer. As these copies were handed over to Halpérine, the originals would revert to her possession—including those in each batch which she had not passed at all. This last condition must have infuriated Dodillon, who for months refused to see Halpérine or to come to any decision. When he finally gave his permission to publish, in December, 1897, it was no doubt with sadness and foreboding.

Of the first twenty letters which she saw, Mme. Viardot rejected three outright. From the next twenty-five she refused as many as nine, and made what for Halpérine seemed incomprehensible deletions in the others. The later batches, now sent in the manner which Halpérine had earlier requested, hardly fared much better. Both men were in despair, and apparently brought to bear on Mme. Viardot an intriguing threat of publishing the letters in uncensored versions in Russia; as it is already known that she had taken out an injunction against this very possibility, their threat presents some problems which will need further investigation. It is, however, worth mentioning that Halpérine's name is looked on with disfavour in the Viardot family. After the letters officially sanctioned for the *Revue Hebdomadaire* were all safely in print he must have gone back into the attack quite quickly, for thirty-five more letters were allowed to appear in the *Revue Bleue* in 1906, and the "complete" edition of 1907 was quickly expanded in Russia as soon as Mme. Viardot died, three years later.

When publication of the letters began at last in the autumn of 1898, Dodillon was not, perhaps, especially consoled on handing over the originals to get his half-share in the publication rights: 2,000 francs was a miserable price for such a treasure. At the end of December, 1899, he received a letter from Halpérine announcing that the last of Turgenev's correspondence was now in Mme. Viardot's hands. The long delay was due to the "prolonged, unceasing struggle" he had waged with her, the "thousand ruses" he had employed to get the interesting pages through. Halpérine noticed, meanwhile, that a certain letter of which Dodillon had spoken was missing from the last instalment. Was his memory playing tricks, or was there not a letter dated 1870 or 1871 in which Turgenev had recounted his most fascinating conversation with the Queen of Prussia on the war with France? If this letter did exist it must be sent without delay. And here the extant correspondence ends.

There is unfortunately no sign of the missing letter among the papers now discovered at the Provins library, but there is a wealth of other material. In a dark-green boarded exercise-book cover measuring 9in. by 7in., and labelled "No. 328", I found the following: an article by Haumant taken from the *Journal des Débats* for August 12, 1896; extracts from *Cosmopolis* and *La Revue Hebdomadaire* with Halpérine's editions of Turgenev's letters; a piece of paper showing the dates on which the originals were sent to him; four paper folders of loose leaves numbered consecutively from 1 to 87, each containing a series of Dodillon's extracts from letters by Turgenev (1844-49, 1850-57, 1864-68, and 1870-71); and one unpublished holograph letter by Turgenev written on three sides of a folded, watermarked sheet of paper measuring 10in. by 8in.

This letter is naturally the most important of the documents. With the exception of four (or possibly six) of the original letters which somehow made their way to St. Petersburg and have recently been published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences in its 28-volume edition of Turgenev's works (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960-1968), it is the only one of the 140 or more letters owned by Dodillon which could not have passed into Mme. Viardot's possession. It is therefore one of very few which can now be printed exactly as it was originally written. Whether Dodillon misplaced it, or whether he wanted a random souvenir, it is not possible to tell: but it is easy to see that Mme. Viardot and Halpérine would not have wanted to publish it in its present intimate and mercenary form.

Turgenev was, as usual, in search of money from his estate, both for himself and—this time—for Claudie Viardot's dowry; he was also happy to be paid for exercising his voice in public. This is probably the last of the numbered series he wrote to Pauline during his five-week stay in Russia in 1871 (most of the others have been published, mainly in translation), and he is clearly longing to see her again in London: the quotation from Gogol's *Diary of a Madman* is expressive of the things one wants to do but can't.

Borisov was a friend and neighbour of Turgenev, Tolstoy and Fet (to whose sister he was married); he died in May, 1871. Alexander Serov, who had died in January, left an unfinished opera later known as *The Power of Evil*. Louise Héritte-Viardot, who was then living in Russia and was very close to the Serovs, had apparently wanted to complete it; but the task was undertaken by Serov's young widow Valentina with the assistance of Nikolai Soloviov. As for Turgenev's fear of cholera, we shall presently see its cause. (Words underlined by Turgenev have been italicized.)

No 24

Moscou
Boulevard Pretchistenskoï
Comptoir des Apanages.
Lundi soir 15/27 Mars 1871.

Deux lectures publiques—deux jours de suite, chère et bienaimée Madame Viardot! Hier, c'était improvisé: deux douces patronesses sont venues me prier de lire à la place d'un auteur subitement tombé malade—public peu nombreux; aujourd'hui—lecture dans la grande salle de la Noblesse—un monde énorme—une réception enthousiaste! ! ! —mais je crois qu'ils n'ont rien entendu—car cette salle est terrible pour la voix—c'est beaucoup trop grand. La voix parlée devient une sorte de bourdonnement confus.—Enfin le but a été atteint—beaucoup d'argent est entré dans la caisse—c'est le principal . . . Je ne me suis pas gêné:—j'ai lu les trois fois (une fois à Petersbourg—et 2 fois ici)—la même chose—c'était toujours un nouveau public, et j'étais sûr de ma machine.—Et voilà! Savez-vous que je crains d'être—n'allez pas vous moquer de moi—d'être complètement *blasé* sur le compte des applaudissements!—Pendant que cela se passe, je me trouve bien nigaud et comme honteux d'être si peu touché de toutes ces manifestations.—Ou plutôt je ne suis pas blasé—mais comme je sais que dans quelques jours je vais partir pour retourner dans mon *home*—tout le reste me touche peu.—J'aurai demain mon passeport—et avant quinze jours—que dis-je—l'*autre* samedi—je me confondrai dans la foule qui se pressera dans votre salon . . . 'Rien, rien, silence' comme dit le fou de Gogol.

Je vois beaucoup de monde ici et j'arrange pas mal d'affaires.—J'espère pouvoir rapporter tout le restant de la dot de Claudie. Mon frère pourrait me donner un bon coup d'épaule . . . mais . . . il y a une femme, sa femme! Enfin, nous verrons.

Mon pauvre Borissoff va très mal; il est plus jaune et plus maigre que jamais. Mon intendant est reparti ce soir pour Spasskoïé; il s'est amendé—et je vais le laisser encore cette année.

Vous ai-je dit que Louise n'a absolument eu rien à faire avec la *complétion* de l'opéra de Séroff: elle s'était imaginée cela—mais la besogne a été confié à un autre.—Que va-t-elle faire?—Après tout, je n'ai pas déjà une très haute opinion de cet opéra.

Mon intendant doit m'envoyer toutes les lettres qu'il trouvera à Spasskoïé.

Le choléra est terrible à Petersbourg et foudroyant.—J'ai bien fait de filer.

Je serai bien mieux dans quelques jours quand je m'en irai d'ici—quel bonheur quand je télégraphierai de Berlin!

En attendant—portez-vous bien—j'embrasse tout le monde et je vous baise les mains avec la plus vive tendresse.

Der Ihrige.
I.T.

Dodillon's copy-extracts from Turgenev's letters were written in 1886. They are interspersed with occasional comments intended for the person: possibly Daudet, to whom they were first sent. From these we learn, for example, that the letters written from Courtavenel in the summer of 1849 contained drawings and plans for the improvement of the estate; none of these have ever been published. We must also conclude that half-a-dozen letters of that year have been suppressed, together with three or four which date from 1868. The copies themselves, however, add little to our knowledge of Turgenev's relations with Pauline Viardot. Some may find this disappointing. Occasional bits of praise for her creep in, or a note of sadness at her absence; but Dodillon's reverence for the master made him hide all possible grounds for slander even from his closest colleagues. The treasure he guarded so lovingly for a quarter of a century was a private one indeed. On the other hand he was not concerned to "improve" Turgenev in any way, and as a general rule was far more faithful to the content, style, and punctuation of the letters than the polished "copies" authorized by Mme. Viardot. Thus the Halpérine-Kaminsky versions tend to alter *tout à l'heure* to *ci-dessus* in the interests of "literary" effectiveness! Dodillon, on the contrary, now allows us to correct dozens of misprints or misreadings in the printed texts.

Nor was Dodillon guilty of altering the tone of Turgenev's letters. If he found a reference to an "ugly little Jew" he left it. He did not want to show Turgenev as a cynic, but he did not want to see him as more pleasant or more perfect than he was. Here is a marvellous example of a passage he left in which was later rejected both in Russia and in France. Its probable date is June 9, 1849, when Turgenev's illness still prevented him from joining the Viardots at Courtavenel.

A propos de choléra, si j'osais . . . Ah bah! je me risque. Or donc, vous savez que quand on est attaqué de cette maladie-là, on prend beaucoup de lavements, on ne *mange* même que de cela. Dans ce riant pays de France, ce sont de vieilles femmes qui les administrent. Ma garde-malade s'apprêtait en conséquence à remplir sa mission et je lui avais déjà "ouvert mon sein", quand à mon grand étonnement, au lieu du bec raide et pointu de l'oiseau en question, je sens s'introduire un doigt. Surpris, presque effrayé, je rentre en moi-même avec précipitation. "Que faites-vous là, madame?"—"Ah! monsieur, je commence toujours par là, je n'y vois pas assez bien". Je finis par lui tenir la lumière—c'était très difficile—je dus lui passer le bras autour de la tête. Quel groupe!

What Dodillon most wished to share with others was Turgenev's ordinary humanity, his hatred of the false and the pretentious, and his utter contempt for bourgeois values and philistinism. For Turgenev, Scribe was the epitome of bourgeois decadence, Augier and Ponsard the models of well-made mediocrity; even George Sand, "prophète puissant", was "tourmentée et malade". In respect of his fellow-novelist Grigorovich, "être parfaitement nul et vide", Turgenev wrote on December 19, 1847:

Calderon aurait-il raison? Le talent—qui est aussi une espèce de grâce—se logerait-il dans la première tête venue? Garderait-il rancune à l'esprit, pour les usurpations de ce dernier? Il est vrai que dans ces derniers temps il s'est bien des fois fait passer pour du talent! Mais les vrais élus sont ceux qui ont l'un et l'autre, n'est-ce pas, Madame? Vous devez en savoir quelque chose.

On the occasion of the poor reception in Berlin by royalty and critics alike of Gluck's *Iphigénie*, he complained to Pauline on January 17, 1848:

Ainsi le public cette fois-ci a moins goûté cette belle musique; et sa Majesté y a été. Ce qui me vexe un peu, c'est de voir que par le temps qui court le goût du beau s'allie fort souvent à la faiblesse, prétentieuse, au dilettantisme prétentieux et sensualiste, voire même à la dépravation (témoins la haute personne que je viens de citer, et le roi de Bavière). Ne pourrait-on pas avoir de la force et du goût en même temps? Ces deux choses s'excluraient-elles? Pourquoi la jeunesse est-elle si "plump"? Pourquoi son exaltation même est-elle si naïvement fausse? Les vieillards ont toujours eu plus d'esprit qu'elle, et cela est bien naturel — faut-il qu'ils aient aussi plus d'instinct? Je suis vexé d'avance de l'article de Kellstab malgré tous les éloges qu'il vous donnera; c'est aussi un vieux grigou, un vieux "flaireur"; et son *jeune* remplaçant c'est Mr Lange! Que ne donnerais-je pas pour lire un article vraiment jeune, chaleureux et fin sur votre Iphigénie. [*Plump* here is the German word, meaning "coarse".]

But perhaps the most shocking of Turgenev's judgments for those who saw fit to censor what he wrote was his passionate anti-militarism; as expressed for example on October 20, 1848:

Quelle dégoûtante et ignoble institution que l'armée. Ces chasseurs d'Afrique, d'après les paroles de leur propre capitaine, ne donnent jamais de quartier, tuent les gens désarmés, violent et pillent—et cependant ce sont d'excellents soldats, bien obéissants, aimant par dessus tout l'*Ordre*, bons et joyeux garçons. Que la foudre les écrase tous! Ce vieux capitaine avec sa figure bonasse et son sourire jovial me faisait l'effet d'un ogre. Comme il regrettait qu'on n'eût pas fusillé *tous* les émeutiers de Paris! Comme il était bête, comme il n'avait plus la moindre idée humaine dans sa stupide cervelle de soldat! Et la plus grande partie de l'armée est ainsi. Et pendant des siècles encore on ne pourra pas s'en passer. Fi! Fi! [The rioters referred to are of course the revolutionaries of May-June.]

It is true that Turgenev's attacks on individuals were often nasty; but should a fundamental trait of character be hidden from his admirers? Only when we get to know his venom will we understand the bitter loneliness of his existence.

In letters written from St. Petersburg on February 22 and 28 (old style), 1871, Turgenev freely spoke his mind on Anton Rubinstein. Both letters were published by Halpérine-Kaminsky in 1906, but Dodillon and he had obviously discussed them almost ten years earlier and considered what changes might be necessary if they were to get past Mme. Viardot. The first letter, in common with many others in Dodillon's exercise-book, contains red pencil-marks beside the offending passages. What Turgenev wrote of Rubinstein was this: "Il joue comme toujours; cela commence par vous donner le vertige, cela finit par vous ennuyer ou du moins par vous fatiguer." In place of this there eventually appeared in print: "Il joue comme toujours: immenses applaudissements." If this is not a literary crime, what is? And so much for the fond impression that Turgenev automatically admired Pauline Viardot's friends!

In the second letter he was more vicious (the passage was never published at all):

Oh! quel horrible "bore" a été le concert de Rubinstein (donné avec le concours de son frère) ce matin! Il n'y a eu que de sa musique, de sa musique à lui, de sa nouvelle musique—manuscrite encore—et si c'est comme cela qu'il compose maintenant, il est archi-fini. Il a toujours eu trop de mousse dans son verre: maintenant il n'y a plus que cela, du brouhaha, du tapage, des passages prestissimo, de l'élan, en avant! nous allons conquérir le monde!—tout cela avec une exécution foudroyante—et rien, pas une idée, dans tous les cas pas d'originalité: c'est du Schumann, du Mendelssohn, du Beethoven, voire du Wagner, mais du Rubinstein, ô!—Les vieillards qui se rajeunissent sont ridicules; mais une jeune-se qui s'attarde trop l'est aussi, et Rubinstein n'a plus le droit d'être jeune et de "donner des espérances". La salle était à moitié remplie et l'on s'est fort ennuyé.

The Dodillon copies are almost as valuable for their form as for their content. Nearly fifty more letters by Turgenev are now available, at least in part, in the language in which they were written; and I hope soon to publish them and make comparisons with the existing Russian translations. Meanwhile I shall quote just one example of a beautiful passage which Mme. Viardot refused to pass. Turgenev is writing at Spasskoye, in exile from the capitals, on October 13 (old style), 1852. Outside the first storms of the Russian winter are raging furiously, shutting him in with his now distant memories of an autumn spent with Pauline at her chateau of Courtavenel.

Ah! comme j'ai tressailli au souvenir de ces *siestas* sous les peupliers, dont les feuilles se détachaient sans effort et venaient se poser doucement sur nous!—Ah! oui, que le ciel d'alors était bleu. Je n'en verrai plus jamais d'aussi beau, je le crains bien. L'impression qui m'en est restée est si vive et si pénétrante que je n'ai qu'à fermer les yeux pour croire entendre le murmure clair et léger de ces feuilles déja mortes mais plus radieuses que jamais sur cet azur qui les baignait. . . . Cet automne est adorable.

The two sisters

SUZANNE DESTERNES and HENRIETTE CHANDET: *La Malibran*. With the collaboration of Alice Viardot. 279pp. Paris: Fayard. 25 fr.

The existence of La Malibran and Pauline Viardot was one of the phenomena of the musical world in the nineteenth century: perhaps, indeed, in any century. One can think of no other instance in which two sisters were recognized, independently, as singers of the international class. The Garcias to give the sisters their maiden name—lead one to ask the sort of question one asks about the Brontës: how is it that two members of a single family, in a single generation, can be endowed with such uncommon powers? Perhaps, in the case of the Garcias, the question is more easily answered. Their mother, Joaquina, had a passion for the theatre, and she was extremely musical. Their father, Manuel Garcia, was a brilliant professional singer, an organist, a theatrical director, and a rigorous teacher of music. With parents such as these, the children were likely to have a natural taste for music; with Manuel as a father, they could hardly fail to develop it.

Manuel Garcia was in fact almost entirely responsible for the training of his daughters. His attitude to the future Mme. Malibran has aroused some criticism, and it would make an interesting psychological study. It is evident that he was an exceptionally hard master. Sometimes Maria would sing to him with the tears running down her cheeks, in fear of his violent disapproval. This fear of her father seems to have given a tension to her voice, a tension which heightened its dramatic effect. Manuel Garcia was not only driven by his belief in Maria's musical gifts, or by his paternal ambition; he was also carried away by his Andalusian temperament, and once, when they were both performing in *Otello*, Maria-Desdemona saw Garcia-Othello approach her with an all-too-real dagger, and cried out in genuine terror: "Ne me tuez pas!" Sometimes she rebelled against her father's ferocity.

Clearly he felt some jealousy; but, none the less, it was true that his daughter was to outclass him; and in America, in 1825, she was recognized as a star. It was at this point that she met Eugène Malibran, a rich businessman and banker; she was seventeen and he was forty-five, but she married him, largely to ensure her independence from her family. The marriage was a predictable failure; Maria returned to Europe to pursue her career, and fell in love with a young musician, Charles de Bériot. After a long, undisguised liaison and the birth of several children, she finally obtained the annulment of her marriage to Malibran, and married Bériot in 1836. Nothing seemed wanting: private happiness, wealth and international fame. Six months later she suddenly died, at the age of twenty-eight, from causes which her biographers do not specify.

After her death, her younger sister came into her own (the title of this book is misleading, for it is a double biography). Pauline Garcia lacked the beauty of La Malibran: a photograph of her, in *Orphée*, shows a remarkably plain woman with a stocky figure. But, even with this disadvantage, Pauline enjoyed an international career. She, too, had an unsatisfying *mariage de raison*—to Louis Viardot, director of the Théâtre des Italiens—but she made ample amends for it by attracting a circle of immensely eminent friends, and becoming the mistress of Turgenev and the mother of his child. She died as recently as 1910.

Now, with the help of Alice Viardot, grand-daughter of Pauline and Turgenev, the two sisters have been given their book. Like all lives of actors or singers, it is somewhat repetitious, and tries to assess what can never be assessed: a quality of performance which posterity cannot judge. It would have been improved by more original illustrations, by a proper bibliography, and by an index.

Books received

Biography and Memoirs

MOTTRAM, R. H. *The Twentieth Century A Personal Record.* 200pp. Hutchinson. 30s.

"An eye-witness account of where the twentieth century has got to" makes a bolder claim than this modest book really attempts to justify. In any case, its main interest hardly lies in its reflections, even though these have an engaging oddity at times. ("The ball is at your feet", Mr. Mottram tells the younger generation, with a hint of self-mockery suggested by the next words, "It is your innings".) What makes his survey readable is the lucidity of the descriptions, the precision of the detail. We learn that an infantry private at the outbreak of the First World War earned not the notorious shilling but 1s. 2d., the twopence being for button-polish. There is an admirable account of a railway accident in which he reconstructs the casualness, the almost leisurely rhythms of catastrophe:

> The sensation is odd, for one expects the railway carriage to go forward or, if need be, back. When it goes sideways, and the floor bends into odd shapes, one knows one is a victim of an accident. The dear old lady beside me was plainly frightened. . . .

However, trains are evidently still good enough for Mr. Mottram. He is not attuned to space travel and tends to wish they would leave the "heavenly bodies" alone, a sentiment that divides the generations more obviously than any other.

SHEEAN, VINCENT. *Personal History.* 448pp. Hamish Hamilton. 35s.

"Shubvershive", Churchill called Vincent Sheean's historical-autobiographical-journalistical account of the political cyclones that shook Sheean and the world in the 1920s. Yet Sir Winston admired the book, or so the author assures us, and he had good cause to. It is now back in print and welcome. The egotism, natural to its period and steered by an excellent writing style, looks positively modest against the pretensions of modern depth reporting. With little equipment but his intelligence and an insatiable curiosity, Sheean surged round the world at a time when travel still meant something to a young man even when he was a journalist. He began by insisting on interviewing an angry Clemenceau, who never gave interviews. He watched the early nails being driven into the coffin of the League of Nations, and knew them for what they were. He saw the revolutions of our time in their critical years, writing about them with an eloquence that is both anxious and entertaining, and stays remarkably fresh.

Botany

ALLEN, DAVID ELLISTON. *The Victorian Fern Craze.* 83pp. Hutchinson. 21s.

Against an interesting nineteenth-century social background, Mr. Allen has given an illustrated account of the rise and fall of the enthusiasm of gardeners and botanists for ferns. The trend, no doubt, matched the Victorian mood of soberness, yet satisfied a growing delight in intricate design. The possession of a closed glass box, often of elaborate form, for growing ferns, known as a Wardian case, became almost a status symbol. Popular interest, which also stimulated botanical investigation, led to descriptive literature, and the repeal of the excise duty in 1845 resulted in the production and use of fine glass on a more elaborate and much more extensive scale. Later, with social changes and much over-collecting, enthusiasm declined, despite new literature and the formation of Fern Societies. The fashion had resulted in a much increased knowledge of ferns and their culture. Perhaps the Wardian case has a successor in the "bottle garden", a hundred years later.

HARRISON, S. G., MASEFIELD, G. B. and WALLIS, M. *The Oxford Book of Food Plants.* Illustrated by B. E. Nicholson. 206pp. Oxford University Press. £2 15s.

Beautifully produced and superbly illustrated in colour in the tradition of the series, the major wild and cultivated plants which serve for human food are described. Arranged according to the type of food they provide, the cereals come first, followed by crops producing sugar, oil and protein. Among later groups are included fruits, spices, salad plants, leaf, vegetable and root crops, seaweeds and fungi. The part of the plant that is most used is illustrated and notes are given on the origin, geographical distribution and botany of individual plants as well as their treatment for food and their nutritional value. A general section on the relation between man and his food plants with an account of their geographical spread gives a stimulus to further study of a vitally important subject.

Economics

HEILBRONER, ROBERT L. *The Worldly Philosophers.* 320pp. Allen Lane The Penguin Press. £2 10s.

Long unavailable in Britain, this book in a new (third) edition is welcome. The original studies of Malthus, Veblen, Marx, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Keynes and lesser lights like Bastiat made a worthwhile work that has sold more than one million copies in fourteen years and in fourteen languages. Mr. Heilbroner in his latest foreword rightly describes his work as a study in the evolution of capitalism and confesses to an even strengthened belief in the long-term economic potential before America; but also admits to heightened anxiety about short-term errors in our Western countries today. He is an admirable guide, philosopher, and expositor.

History

BROWN, ALFRED I. *The Early History of the Clerkship of the Council.* 37pp. University of Glasgow. 9s.

This monograph examines the origins of the office of Clerk of the Council, the men who first held it, and their tasks and status. Mr. Brown traces the office back to Richard II, when the king's council was reorganized and one John de Wendlyngburgh appears for the first time as clerk. His successor, John Prophete, seems to have kept better records, and the development of the clerkship under him and those who held it in Lancastrian times is then outlined.

Horticulture

MACLEOD, DAWN. *Design Your Own Garden.* 227pp. Duckworth. £2 5s.

This pleasantly written book, intended for the amateur who wants to create or improve a small-to-middling garden, satisfies a need. Miss Macleod includes plans of her own designing, but to illustrate general principles and not to be followed slavishly. She stresses the lessons to be learnt from great gardens open to the public—particularly those like Hidcote, Tintinhull and Sissinghurst, which are a series of linked "rooms" enclosed by hedges. Garden ornaments and features are discussed with sound taste, but she might, perhaps, have warned the amateur against undue proliferation of pools, bird-baths, &c., in a small space.

Literature and Literary Criticism

HALL, TREVOR H. *Sherlock Holmes: Ten Literary Studies.* 157pp. Duckworth. 36s.

Mr. Hall, whose earlier books have dealt mostly (and very entertainingly) with spiritualism and psychical research in such affairs as the haunting of Borley Rectory and the mysterious death of Edmund Gurney, the first secretary of the S.P.R., has now turned his analytical talent to the Holmesian field, and the result is a volume much above the average of its kind. He demonstrates to his own satisfaction and with reasonable plausibility that many of Holmes's peculiarities were due to the traumatic experience of a parental tragedy during his early years; claims that East Sussex is his birthplace; provides him with a private education; and sends him to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he chums up with Edmund Gurney to whose sad end is directly attributable that odd reduplication of the famous thought-reading sequence in *The Cardboard Box* and *The Resident Patient*. All this is highly ingenious and well-argued, and much the most original point for his Cantabrigian claim is the unearthing of a Sidney Paget illustration in which Holmes is depicted with a decidedly light hat-band around his boater.

GOLDBERG, HOMER. *The Art of Joseph Andrews.* 292pp. University of Chicago Press. £3 16s.

This study began as a doctoral dissertation under the direction of the late R. S. Crane, whose influence is pervasive throughout. The author undertakes to demonstrate the unity of *Joseph Andrews* along the neo-Aristotelian lines already employed by Crane in his notable essay on *Tom Jones*. What raises the book above the level of competence is Mr. Goldberg's detailed study of Fielding's acknowledged sources in the European novel: Scarron, Lesage, Marivaux, and of course Cervantes.

London

The Guildhall Miscellany. Vol. III, No. 1. 89pp. Guildhall. 35s. per annum for 2 issues.

Two bibliographical items in the book consist of (a) a descriptive catalogue of books in the London Guildhall Library by, or concerning, the notorious John Wilkes; and (b) a list of the library's recent acquisitions of English books printed before 1701. The main essay is by Mr. Brian Burch who, on the basis of surviving records of the church of St. Ann, Blackfriars, gives an account of the history of that church before its disappearance in the great fire of 1666. A second paper, by Miss Betty Masters, discusses the office of the London Town Clerk and its early holders.

FLETCHER, GEOFFREY. *Changing London.* 95pp. Collins. £2 2s. *London After Dark.* 104pp. Hutchinson. 35s.

Mr. Fletcher is a preserver of old London in a double sense. His drawings of condemned buildings (of which 400 have appeared in *The Daily Telegraph* during the past ten years, and forty are reproduced in *Changing London*) keep alive the memory of that which has been destroyed. "Many thousands of people", he says, have written to say that they share his indignation. He compares the modern destroyers with the Vandals, to the advantage of the latter. In them he can see a "purifying quality"; in their successors, none. He throws down a challenge to the "bureaucratic planner and private developer", Which of them, he says, has ever sacrificed his own home because it stood in the way of development?

In *London After Dark*, Mr. Fletcher takes a rest from his mournful search for old London, to draw it before it is destroyed. But it seems just as mournful: is it London after dark that has changed, or just that Mr. Fletcher has become older? London nowadays, he says, goes to bed early. It is as dull at midnight as a country town, and certainly the figures in most of his sketches look dull. He takes comfort, however, in the reflection that Paris is much duller, and bids his readers to set out, as he has done, to explore London at night. He grows lyrical as he writes of the beauty of light and shadow on the buildings, of "subtle, inconclusive adventures in great thoroughfares and dingy back streets", and of the silence of London by night, where you can hear the noises of the river far away.

NORMAN, FRANK. *Norman's London.* 256pp. Secker and Warburg. £2 2s.

"To me simply being alive is a hazardous business." It is with the familiar whine of the literary pro that Mr. Norman begins his book, though it was not the mood or the manner in which he began his writing career, bashing out his experiences on an old borrowed typewriter in the spare time left him from more worldly activities. The style then was vigorous and cheerful, as is shown by some of his earlier pieces reprinted here. No doubt it was the fresh honesty of his untutored prose, as much as the fact that low life was so chic, that appealed to the sophisticated magazines.

Certainly he was a discovery. He writes "naturally", a gift rare enough to seem the most unnatural of human activities. Readers will delight in his rhyming slang, and feel flattered at being able to understand most of it without a crib. Having a dicky with the screws, taking a butcher's at life in the nick, are not everyday experiences for *Encounter* subscribers and the impact must have been broadening. The ritual prose of the bullfight can never be the same again after Mr. Norman has watched its heroes "waving their dirty great capes", and although his underworld verse may not be up to Villon standard it has its appeal. Some of the reporting and interviewing is first class, and the sketch of Miss Joan Littlewood is the best we have had.

Medicine

GRAVES, CHARLES. *Invasion by Virus: Can it happen again?* 251pp. Icon Books. 12s. 6d.

Charles Graves gives a full account of the great pandemic of influenza which swept over the world in 1918. This killed more people than were killed in the fighting of the First World War, and it is interesting to speculate what might have been the result of that war if the Germans had not suffered from this disease more seriously than did the French. It is also interesting to speculate whether the general lowering of nutritional standards, certainly in Europe, as a result of the war had any bearing on the heavy mortality that was everywhere experienced from this outbreak. Similar pandemics have occurred in the past, roughly speaking once in a generation: that in 1958 turned out to be less serious than was expected because the virus was not so virulent. A further pandemic can be expected around 1998: how it will affect mankind depends, as Mr. Graves points out, on how resistant the population of the world will have become to the antibiotics which protect them now, at least from the secondary infections: further therapeutic measures may, of course, have been discovered before that date. Mr. Graves has written a very readable book on a subject that might have been thought to be of specialist interest only: his narrative is illumined by the many anecdotes about the odd way people behave when they are confronted with a frightening, unknown and obscure disaster.

Social Studies

HALL, EDWARD T. *The Hidden Dimension.* 201pp. Bodley Head. £2 2s.

Dr. Hall is said to be in his seventh year of continuing research on man's perception of space in the United States and abroad. As nothing could be more open than space, it is a little difficult to understand his title, except that it balances an earlier book, *The Silent Language*. Dr. Hall modestly asserts that "over fifty-three years ago, Franz Boas laid the foundation of the view which I hold that communication constitutes the core of culture and indeed of life itself". He calls the new science "proxemics".

English readers of *A Room of One's Own* or old infantrymen who remember that two of their three traditional rights were spatial ("eighteen inches in the ranks, six feet of earth when he dies"), will immediately grasp Dr. Hall's point. He analyses distance regulation among animals, visual, tactile and olfactory spaces among human beings. Whereas the American is taught not to breathe on other people, among the Arabs good smells are pleasing and a way of being involved with each other. In Arab match-making, he says—and this must please him for he says it twice over—the intermediaries may ask to smell the girl.

This is only one of the large number of social facts assembled. There is a serious message in the book, that however hard man may try to divest himself of his own culture it is impossible for him to do so, for it has penetrated to the roots of his nervous system and determines how he perceives the world.

Travel

THOMPSON, GEORGE. *Travels and Adventures in South Africa.* Part 1: 187pp. Part 2 and 3: 277pp. Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society.

George Thompson was a merchant for some forty years in Cape Town where he went in the early part of the nineteenth century. He was also an intrepid traveller, and this account of his journeys, in part "ghosted" by Thomas Pringle, though substantially the product of Thompson's own observations, provides an extraordinarily penetrating insight into Southern African life in the 1820s.

Thompson travelled with his eyes, and his mind, open. His comments, on the Boer farmers and on the Africans, are shrewd. He describes, for example, the callous behaviour of farmers towards the Bushmen, and then adds:

> With all their roughness and rusticity of manner, and with all their cruel unchristian prejudices in regard to the poor natives, these colonists still retain much patriarchal simplicity, and many traits of good-nature and friendliness in their general character.

Their life, of course, was rugged and close to nature, and they had to be self-sufficient. For example:

> In the course of the evening I learned that one of the boor's wives had been safely delivered of a stout boy. In these affairs the South African females seem to require very little assistance or care. Medical aid is of course out of the question."

Thompson himself took dangers and discomforts in his stride, and seems to have had the gift of retaining his enthusiasm and his objectivity in spite of them. He also seems to have had the ability to get on to good terms quickly with the Africans whom he encountered.

Wine and Food

INFIELD, GEORGINA. *A Seasoning of Menus.* 150pp. Heinemann. 35s.

A Seasoning of Menus is so titled, presumably, because Mrs. Infield has divided her book into recipes for complete meals under the headings "Winter" and "Summer". Her sections for each season are divided into dinners, and luncheons and "Family Suppers"—easy to locate as the winter ones are printed on blue or green paper, the summer menus on yellow or pink. There is a short separate section of meals for special occasions. The book has a gay appearance with pleasant illustrations.

Each complete menu is well designed, with a good contrast of taste, texture and colour between the courses, even if few of the recipes are original. Most of the selections have a party flavour and are not intended for those anxious to save money—nearly half the puddings and some of the other courses ask for brandy or liqueurs as an ingredient. It is to be regretted that Mrs. Infield should discourage the British housewife from cooking fresh vegetables; but she is enthusiastic about salads, provides a large number of dishes that can be prepared in advance, and attaches to each menu a useful shopping list.

PRICE, PAMELA VANDYKE. *Wine-lover's Handbook.* 80pp. and unnumbered pages. Condé-Nast in association with Collins. 25s.

The unusual feature of this compact guide to the wines of the world and how to keep and serve them is that it includes thirty-two pages to keep a record of wines acquired and consumed. The advice on wine is compact and sensible, the survey of wine areas almost too brief to be of much use and Cognac and Armagnac are in south-west rather than east or south-east France, but it will help beginners, as will the regional wine maps.

VACANT APPOINTMENTS

Librarians

CITY OF CHESTER
PUBLIC LIBRARY

APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of SENIOR ASSISTANT at Lache Branch Library. Salary within A.P. I/II. Housing accommodation and assistance with removal expenses available in suitable circumstances. Minimum qualification—L.A. Part I examination or university degree with appropriate experience. Further deails on request.

Applications, giving the names and addresses of two referees, should reach the City Librarian, Public Library, St. John Street, Chester, CH1 1DH, by 10th January, 1970.

LONDON BOROUGH OF CROYDON

APPLICATIONS are invited for the POSTS of :—
ASSISTANT BRANCH LIBRARIAN.
BRANCH CHILDREN'S LIBRARIAN.

Salary scale : £975 to £1,446 per annum (Librarians' (barred) Scale). Commencing salary according to experience and qualifications.

Further particulars and application forms from the Chief Librarian, Central Library, Katharine Street, Croydon, CR9 1ET.

Closing date, 19th January.

ENFIELD
(London Borough of)
EDUCATION COMMITTEE
SOUTHGATE TECHNICAL COLLEGE

Principal, W. A. G. Easton, M.A., C.Eng., F.I.Mech.E.

Required from 1st May, 1970, or earlier if possible,

Ref. E31* LECTURER Grade I or ASSISTANT LECTURER as TUTOR LIBRARIAN, to instruct and guide all students in the use of the library and library materials.

*This appointment may be on Lecturer Grade I or Assistant Lecturer Grade dependent on previous experience and qualifications.

Salary Scales (including London Allowance) :—

Lecturer Grade I, £1,195 to £1,935. With additions for degree allowance and training increments.

Assistant Lecturer £945 to £1,685. With additions for degree allowance and training increments.

Further details and application forms may be obtained from the Principal, Southgate Technical College, High Street, Southgate, London, N.14, on receipt of a stamped addressed envelope. Please mark both envelopes clearly with the post reference in which case no letter is necessary. Completed applications to be returned within 14 days of the appearance of this advertisement.

D. B. DENNY, Chief Education Officer.

HEYWOOD PUBLIC LIBRARIES

BRANCH AND EXTRA-MURAL SERVICES SUPERVISOR

APPLICATIONS are invited from suitably qualified persons for the above POST. The successful applicant will be required to supervise one full-time branch library and will also be responsible for the organization of extension activities throughout the service.

Salary within grades A.P. I/III (£885 to £1,540), with a minimum of £1,310 for a chartered librarian

Further particulars are obtainable from Miss S. A. Balmer, F.L.A., Borough Librarian, Central Library, Church Street, Heywood, Lancashire, to whom applications should be returned not later than 17th January, 1970.

LIBRARY ASSISTANTS

Two required for posts in College Library to replace assistants leaving for library school. One at the newly opened Library at Highbury Grove, N.5, serving the needs of courses in Child Care, Social and Professional Studies and Sociology. A second post is available, shared between Kentish Town (Arts and Teacher Training) and Camden Town (Business Studies and Management). The libraries of the North-Western Polytechnic and the Northern Polytechnic will be integrated when the two Colleges amalgamate.

Salary, £925 at 21 (maximum starting salary) by £45 to £1,225.

Qualifications : Five "O" levels (including English Language).

Application form and further details from the Librarian, North-Western Polytechnic, Prince of Wales Road, N.W.5.

ROYAL BOROUGH OF KINGSTON UPON THAMES

LIBRARY AND MUSEUM DEPARTMENT

SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN, New Malden Branch Library. A.P.I/II, £885 to £1,310 per annum, plus London Weighting.

Applicants should have passed the Part I Examination of the Library Association.

Forms and further details obtainable from the Borough Librarian and Curator, Central Library, Fairfield Road, Kingston upon Thames, to whom applications should be sent within 14 days from the date of this advertisement.

IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM, LONDON, S.E.1

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION RETRIEVAL

Assistant Keeper

Post for man or woman at least 20 years of age and normally under 26 as Assistant Keeper, Second Class.

The Museum records and illustrates all aspects of war which have affected Britain and other members of the Commonwealth since 1914. The Department of Information Retrieval (a unit of the Records Division) is responsible for machine-indexing the important collection of some 30 million feet of film relating to war. This material is extensively used by television and film companies.

DUTIES : The successful candidate will be required to work on the viewing of film and the coding and input of the information into the advanced system of automatic data retrieval recently acquired by the Museum. He will work closely with other departments of the Museum and will be directly responsible to the Assistant Director of the Records Division.

QUALIFICATION : Normally a first or second class honours degree in history, mathematics, computer science, classical, mediaeval, or modern languages, English, or in some other appropriate discipline. Candidates will be expected to have a keen historical sense and an interest in the history of warfare. An interest in films and photography an advantage.

SALARY : £1,196 to £1,952. Starting salary may be above minimum. Promotion prospects to Assistant Keeper, First Class (£2,146 to £3,490). Non-contributory pension.

WRITE to Civil Service Commission, Savile Row, London, W1X 2AA, or telephone 01-734 6010 ext. 229 (after 5.30 p.m. 01-734 6464 "Ansafone" service), for application form, quoting 7360/70. Closing date, 20 January, 1970.

LAKEHEAD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Thunder Bay, Ontario

Invites applications for the following posts :—

(a) ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. The person appointed will be mainly responsible for the general administration of the Library, including staff matters, for assisting the Librarian in determining policy and for deputizing for him in his absence. A degree of an accredited library school, or its equivalent, and wide experience in University Library practice, particularly current acquisitions and cataloguing policies is required. Salary according to qualifications, minimum $13,500. Consideration would be given to special limited term contract or secondment if so desired by a successful candidate.

(b) CATALOGUER. The degree of an accredited library school, or its equivalent, and cataloguing experience with Library of Congress classification and cards are required : A good knowledge of Romance languages or a Science background preferred. Salary according to qualifications, minimum $8,850.

There are excellent fringe benefits. Conditions of service include travel allowances and study leave for approved projects. Applications should be addressed as soon as possible, to the Chief Librarian, Lakehead University, from whom further details may be obtained.

LIBRARIANS

ASSISTANT for general duties in the Library of a mixed College of Education. 38-hour week. "O" level English and some typing required.

Interested applicants please apply to the Librarian, College of St. Matthias, Fishponds, Bristol, on or before January 9th, 1970.

KING'S COLLEGE HOSPITAL MEDICAL SCHOOL
(University of London)

Requires an ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN. Commencing salary £900-£1,450 according to qualifications and experience.

Applications together with the names of two referees, to be sent to The Secretary, King's College Hospital Medical School, Denmark Hill, London, S.E.5, by 17 January, 1970.

THE MANCHESTER PUBLIC LIBRARIES

SENIOR ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN COMMERCIAL LIBRARY

APPLICATIONS are invited for the above post which is in one of the major departments of the Central Library. Salary within the Librarians Grade (£885 to £1,540).

Further details and application forms may be obtained from the Chief Assistant, Sta. Central Library, St. Peter's Square, Manchester, M2 5PD. Closing date is Saturday, 17th January, 1970.

PART-TIME LIBRARIAN

APPLICATIONS are invited from CHARTERED LIBRARIANS for the POST of part-time LIBRARIAN for the R.C.N. Scottish Board Library in Edinburgh. The post carries complete responsibility for the administration and daily running of the library service.

Salary scale for a 20-hour week according to the Scottish National salary scale for librarians in the public library service (£550 to £680).

Applications giving age, qualifications and experience to the Secretary, R.C.N. Scottish Board, 43/44 Heriot Row, Edinburgh, EH3 6EY, by 9th February, 1970.

Shell INFORMATION SPECIALISTS

If you are interested in working on manual and mechanised storage and retrieval systems, selective dissemination of information (SDI) and related problems, including microfilms and business records, Shell International Petroleum Company Limited has vacancies in its Library and Information Services and Records Services Divisions at Shell Centre, London, which may interest you.

The successful candidates will be Chartered Librarians (A.L.A.'s) between 25 and 30 years of age with at least three years' experience in an industrial special library in the Oil, Chemical or Engineering industries. A knowledge of systems development would be an advantage but is not essential. Further training will be given.

INFORMATION OFFICER

Another vacancy exists in our Library & Information Services Division at Shell Centre for an Information Officer. Duties will include assisting in information work generally and cataloguing.

This position would ideally suit a recently qualified A.L.A. of 20 to 25 years of age, preferably with some cataloguing experience.

In addition to good starting salaries we offer generous fringe benefits and promotional prospects.

Application Forms may be obtained by ringing 934-6275 or by writing to:

Shell International Petroleum Co. Ltd., Recruitment Division, (WX) PNEL/2, Shell Centre, LONDON, S.E.1.

SHELL

COUNTY BOROUGH OF SOLIHULL
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Require (1) REFERENCE LIBRARIAN for a small but expanding reference service. Salary for a Chartered Librarian A.P. 3 (£1,310 to £1,540), starting point appropriate to experience.

(2) DEPUTY BRANCH LIBRARIAN (Hobs Moat Branch). A modern branch library issuing about 192,000 books annually. Four Assisants below Deputy. Salary within Librarian Scale (£885 to £1,310), starting point according to qualifications and experience.

Usual Local Government conditions of service. Housing may be available. Removal expenses paid.

Applications, naming two referees, to P.O. Box 18, Council House, Solihull, by 15th January, 1970.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN Trinity College

LIBRARIAN

The Board of Trinity College invites applications from persons with considerable experience of the administration of large libraries for appointment to the post of Librarian.

This appointment has professorial status with the appropriate salary, and duties should be taken up on 1st October, 1970.

Further information may be obtained from :

The Secretary to the College, Trinity College, Dublin 2.

preferably before 31st January, 1970.

Wellcome

MEDICAL LIBRARIAN

An opportunity exists for a Librarian to join a young and enthusiastic team in the Medical Information Centre of our Group Headquarters in London. This is a rapidly expanding service, and as a special member of this team the librarian will be responsible for the organisation of a small medical library, applying new techniques to established routines.

The post will be of particular interest to librarians of either sex, who have experience in medical or pharmaceutical libraries.

Attractive conditions of employment are offered.

Please write, quoting ref. LS.82 and giving brief but relevant details to Senior Personnel Officer, Group Personnel Division,

The Wellcome Foundation Limited,
183 Euston Road, London, N.W.1

Classified Advertisements:

The Times Literary Supplement publishes Classified Advertisements under the following headings:

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Rates: 7s. a line (minimum 14s.), box number 3s.
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Nottinghamshire West Bridgford College of Further Education
West Bridgford Comprehensive School

LIBRARIAN

required from April 1st 1970 to take charge of library services in the College and Comprehensive School (two libraries on the same campus).
Salary scale AP.4 (£1,540 to £1,775).

Further details and application forms from the County Librarian, County Hall, West Bridgford, Nottingham NG2 7QP.
Closing date 15th January 1970.

INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY

Dartford College of Education
Oakfield Lane, Dartford

DEPUTY LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians for this important post in an expanding Library. Salary Scale: £1,385 to £1,750.

Further particulars and application form, which should be returned by 16.1.1970, may be obtained from the Principal at the College.

INNER LONDON EDUCATION AUTHORITY

Half time Librarian

Barnsbury Girl's Secondary School, Barnsbury Park, N.1

Chartered Librarian required 22½ hours per week term time only. Hours by arrangement with Headmistress. School experience an asset, interest in and sympathy with young people essential. Salary scale £1,385-£1,750; pro rata for half-time engagement. For further information about the school, please contact the Headmistress (telephone 607 8387); application forms from The Education Officer (Estab.2a/3833/D), County Hall, S.E.1, to be returned by 12th January, 1970.

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SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

ATLAS COMPUTER LABORATORY

Chilton Didcot Berkshire

LIBRARIAN

Applications are invited for the post of Librarian at the Atlas Computer Laboratory. The Laboratory provides a computing service for Universities and certain Government establishments. Its Library is a specialised one for mathematics and computing science. The duties of the post include supervision of the reading room and the ordering, cataloguing and subject classification of books, reports and periodicals. The stock of the Library includes 1,500 books and 500 reports. The annual intake being about 300 and 100 respectively. Approximately 100 periodicals are currently being taken. The Librarian also provides a documentation service for University and Government users. There is a computer-based Information Retrieval System and the Librarian uses this as a help in answering customer's enquiries.

Applicants must hold an approved post graduate university diploma in Librarianship or have passed the Registration Examination or Part II (Final) Examination of the Library Association. Candidates must have had some practical experience of Librarianship, preferably in a scientific or technical library.

Salary is on an age scale giving £870 at age 20; £1,240 age 25; £1,460 age 29 or above then rising by annual increments to £1,810 p.a.

There is a contributory superannuation scheme. Daily travel and restaurant facilities are available. Hostel accommodation can be provided for single staff, not living locally.

Please write for an application form to Mr. P. B. Nichols, S.R.C., Rutherford Laboratory, Chilton, Didcot, Berks., quoting reference AL48236. Closing date 16 January, 1970.

Coventry City Libraries

EAST DISTRICT LIBRARIAN

Salary Grade AP5 (£1,775-£1,990)

Applications are invited from Chartered Librarians to be responsible for Library Services in this district comprising three branch libraries and four library centres having a total book stock of 280,000 volumes and annual issues of 785,000.

The successful applicant will be expected to involve himself with community organizations in the district and carry out promotional activities such as exhibitions, cultural events and publicity campaigns.

Grant of removal expenses up to £50 and of legal and other fees incidental to house purchase up to £150 may be available.

Further details and application form from :
Director, Libraries, Art Gallery and Museums Department
Bayley Lane, Coventry, CV1 5RG
Closing date 15th January, 1970.

EAST SUFFOLK COUNTY COUNCIL

SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICE

SPEECH THERAPIST

(full-time)

required for post based in the south of this attractive County. Newly-qualified Therapists will be considered. Car-driver essential and car will be provided or allowance paid. Establishment of one Senior and five other Therapists. Salary £790 to £1,245 per annum. Applications (in writing) to Principal School Medical Officer, P.O. Box 38, County Hall, Ipswich, giving details of education, training and experience, with names of two referees.

CITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

PUBLIC LIBRARIES
STOCK EDITOR A.P. III

The stock editor is a key member of the book selection team and has direct responsibility for carrying out a planned programme of stock revision.

Applicants should be chartered librarians with a wide knowledge of books. Housing accommodation may be offered in suitable cases and removal expenses are payable to a limit of £50.

Applications giving details of qualifications, age, experience, and the names of two referees, should be sent to the City Librarian, Central Library, Civic Centre, Southampton, SO9 4XP by 16th January, 1970.

SIR EVELYN WRENCH TRAVELLING FELLOWSHIP

FOR LIBRARIANS, 1970

Fully qualified (ALA) LIBRARIANS, between 25-35 with 5 years' service are invited to apply for an autumn, 1970, professional and travelling fellowship in the U.S.A. It covers transatlantic and internal travelling, and all incidental expenses.

Further details and application form from: The Librarian, English-Speaking Union, 37 Charles St., London W1X 8AB.

LIBRARY ASSISTANT required for Medical Library, previous experience not essential. Apply in writing with details of age and experience to the Secretary, Guy's Hospital Medical School, London, S.E.1.

Public and University Appointments

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

APPLICATIONS are invited for a temporary LECTURESHIP in ENGLISH LITERATURE for a period of from one to three years, depending on circumstances, from February 1, 1970, or as soon after as possible. Applicants should be interested in the literature of the last two centuries, and in the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. The successful candidate will have undergraduate teaching within the English Department and will assist the Acting Director of the Centre with post-graduate supervisions and other duties there during the leave of absence granted to its Director (Professor Richard Hoggart). Salary on scale £1,240 to £2,850, F.S.S.U.

Applications (six copies), naming three referees, by January 26, 1970, to Assistant Registrar (A), University of Birmingham, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham 15, from whom further particulars can be obtained.

UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

LECTURESHIP/ASSISTANT LECTURESHIP IN HISTORY

APPLICATIONS are invited for the above-mentioned POST. Preference will be given to candidates with lecturing experience in European and Asian History (19th and 20th centuries) with special research interests in aspects of either field or their inter-relation.

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Lecturer: HK$32,730 by $1,530 to $52,620 [£2,249 to £3,616] (man); HK$28,320 by $1,860 to $32,040 to $33,900 to $35,430 by $2,100 to $48,030 by $1,530 to $52,620 [£1,946 to £3,616] (woman).
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Further particulars and application forms may be obtained from the Secretary-General, Association of Commonwealth Universities (Appts.), 36 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, or the Registrar, University of Hong Kong.

Closing date for applications 31 January, 1970.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES

BANGOR
SUB-DEPARTMENT OF DRAMA

APPLICATIONS are invited for the POST of LECTURER on the HISTORY, Theory and Practice of 19th and 20th century European Drama. Particular consideration will be given to candidates with special interests in German or French Drama and it would be an advantage if a candidate has completed or is engaged upon research in this area.

The commencing salary will be on the lower part of the scale £1,240 by £115 to £2,850.

Further particulars of this post may be obtained from the Registrar and applications (two copies) giving details of age, qualifications and experience, together with the names and addresses of two referees should be sent to reach the Registrar by 19th January, 1970.

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN SASKATOON

PROFESSOR and ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR of ENGLISH

Applications are invited for the positions of Professor and Associate Professor of English. Applicants should be qualified and have published in one of the following areas: nineteenth-century English literature, Shakespearean studies, Canadian literature, or American literature (except the modern novel). Minimum salaries for 1970-71 are $18,050 and $14,000, respectively. Medicare, pension and insurance plans and a removal allowance of $1,000 are available. Duties begin September 1, 1970.

Applications, naming three referees, should be addressed as soon as possible to J. K. Johnstone, Chairman, Department of English, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Canada.

Lecturers

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

ASSISTANT LECTURER IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

APPLICATIONS invited for this post. The person appointed will work in the field of English Literature. Salary scale £1,240 to £1,470 per annum. F.S.S.U.

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